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PROLETCULT



PROLETCULT

(PROLETARIAN CULTURE)

BY

EDEN & CEDAR PAUL

AUTHORS OF "CREATIVE REVOLUTION"

When labour strikes, it says to its master: I shall no longer work at your command.
When it votes for a party of its own, it says: I shall no longer vote at your command.
When it creates its own classes and colleges, it says: I shall no longer think at your command.
Labour's challenge to education is the most fundamental of the three.—
Henry de Man.

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TO ALL THE
COMRADES AND FRIENDS
WHO HAVE HELPED US
WITH MATERIALS
AND COUNSEL

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PROLETCULT

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The communists never cease . . . to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat.
—KARL MARX and FRIEDRICH ENGELS, 1848.
(Manifesto of the Communist Party, § V.)

DO YOUR OWN THINKING

A FEW weeks ago the authors were discussing the ground plan of this book with one of the good friends and comrades to whom it is dedicated. "Your first chapter," he said, "should contain an outline of the general characteristics of the claim for Independent Working-Class Education. You should discuss the nature of the need; should describe the material our system of working-class education has to deal with; should explain the fundamental requirements of the modern working class and of the working-class movement. A chap leaves school at fourteen, and in most cases he gets no further education in any purposive sense until he is twenty. It is not until he is about twenty

that we [our comrade was speaking in the Labour College] have a chance of getting hold of him. Then, from our point of view and his, the first need of the education he is craving for, and of the education which we want to give him, is to show him his place in the fighting organisation of trade unionism. That is why it is out of the question for us to think of giving him what is called 'an all-round education.' There is no time for that; and if we attempted anything of the kind we should defeat our own ends."

What, then, is the fundamental requirement of the modern working class? Unhesitatingly we reply: It is to use the economic power of the workers for the overthrow of the capitalist system, the abolition of wagery, and the inauguration of a classless commonwealth. Consciously or unconsciously, that has been the aim of the modern working-class movement since it first came to life. The struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, and latterly the struggle for workers' control in industry, have all been parts of the struggle for the ending of the dominant social system. For this purpose, the workers organise on the economic field, at first in small craft unions and subsequently in the larger industrial unions. For this purpose, they organise on the political field in the endeavour to wrest from the master class the political machinery of the bourgeois State. For this purpose, they are creating a press of their own which shall inform them regarding current events without the capitalist bias which pervades the press owned and controlled by the plutocracy. Quite recently, during the last ten

years or so, the workers' vanguard has come clearly to recognise that all other efforts will be misdirected unless guided by knowledge. The workers' demand for education is no longer a demand for graduated doses of bourgeois culture. It is a demand for an education which shall make the workers understand their place in the economic and social system, and shall help them in the successful waging of the class war. It is a demand for Independent Working-Class Education. To satisfy this demand, the workers have to do their own thinking. The hirelings of the master class, of the class which is economically organised in employers' federations and politically organised as the "democratic" State, will continue to fool the workers so long as they are permitted to think for the workers, and to sing the soothing lullabies of social solidarity and harmony of interests between employers and employed.

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IMPERATIVE

But we are outrunning the mass of the workers when we say that they no longer demand graduated doses of bourgeois culture. We shall see in subsequent chapters that, historically considered, the demand for adult education was nothing more than this for nearly three generations. Even to-day, the demand is often enough no more than this, in so far as it finds conscious expression. Apart from the Labour Colleges in London, Glasgow, and elsewhere, apart from the Plebs League, which is the most effective exponent of the demand for a distinctively proletarian culture, the network of British organisations through which the craving

for adult education is mainly satisfied, is not consciously partisan. The Workers' Educational Association, for instance, makes a parade of impartiality. Its tendency is one of unconscious bias in favour of the institutions of the bourgeois State. Nevertheless, the education which the pupils of the Tutorial Classes predominantly demand, is something very different from a vague "general culture." The working men and women who attend the Tutorial Classes desire instruction, before all, in such subjects as economics and industrial history. That is to say, they want to understand the nature of the system in virtue of which, when employed, they are galley-slaves chained to the bench, and, when out of employment, they are unchained, and jettisoned to fend for themselves at the mercy of wind and water. They wish to know how that system grew up. Having learned that it did not always exist, they desire to grasp the means by which the working class can effect the revolutionary transformation of a system which is obviously inefficient to fulfil the first requirements of a "social" order. But this last they will never learn from the "unbiased" exponents of social solidarity and class collaboration. Nor will they learn it for themselves until they become genuinely class conscious, do their own thinking, and achieve a culture of their own. Bourgeois education acts like poison gas. "Revolutionary class-conscious education is the only effective gas-mask for the workers."

SIMPLIFICATION AND CONCENTRATION OF AIM

The demand (even in the Tutorial Classes which would fain "unite labour and learning") for a "narrow" culture, is in itself a manifestation of a dawning class consciousness. A worker who is given special opportunities for adult education, and who, instead of asking for lectures on Shakespeare or on Greek Art, demands information on the mechanism of contemporary social life, is at any rate well on the way to an understanding of the fact that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. But it is in the organisations which have come into existence as conscious expressions of the demand for proletarian culture, and as conscious attempts to fulfil this demand, that we find the most characteristic simplifications of method, and the most characteristic concentration on primary and essential subjects. The recognition that the knowledge is required for immediate action, or for action in the very near future, is an additional incentive to simplification and concentration. These requisites are reinforced by the peculiarities of the students. Of course those freak members of the working class who take up some highly specialised study as a hobby, and pursue it through a life of contented toil and scant leisure, may rejoice (within inexorable limits) in numerous and imperfectly mastered technicalities. But the students of the Labour Colleges and of the educational classes which are animated with the spirit of the Plebs League, being class conscious even before their adult education begins, being keenly aware of the limitations imposed by the deficiencies of such

"general culture" as they secured in childhood at the elementary schools, and being for the most part imbued from the outset with the idea that a social revolution is imminent and that it behoves them to play their part in intensifying and clarifying the revolutionary impetus, will emphasise the need for simplification and concentration of aim.

Aim, tendency, purpose, this is the leading feature of proletarian culture. Not "education for education's sake"; but revolutionary education, i.e., education for revolutionary ends. The origins of this class-conscious and partisan education are but new illustrations of the working of the forces which, in Marxist theory, are summarised under the name of the materialist conception of history. Developing industrial technique brings about a development of proletarian consciousness. This gives rise to a proletarian culture, to Proletcult. And the first aim of Proletcult (in its prerevolutionary phase) is to simplify, to concentrate, to discard everything which does not contribute to the growth of a fighting culture. Not general culture, professedly unbiased, but a fighting culture, admittedly tendentious, is the avowed aim of the revolutionary proletariat. Does this horrify the champions of "unbiased education"? Nay, but we are ready, we are eager, to offer a general apologia for tendency in science! We echo Bergson and say: "We do not aim generally at knowledge for the sake of knowledge, but in order to take sides, to draw profit—in short, to satisfy an interest." (*Introduction to Metaphysics*, p. 35).

TENDENCY IN SCIENCE AND IN EDUCATION

The essential thing in science, the essential thing in education, is the human interest. We live by desire and emotion; by the gratification of will and by artistic appreciation; it is for these ends that we strive to *know*. Emotion is the driving force of human life; what distinguishes man, as man, from other animals, is the extent to which he endeavours to make reason his guide. But he cannot rationalise his activities, he should not try to rationalise his activities, to the degree of making them unemotional, of depriving them of "tendency." Thus in proportion as, in science, we move from the purely abstract to the biological and social plane, in proportion as the direct human interest comes to predominate in any branch of study, do we find that the subject becomes tendentious; do we find that it is studied with a desire (conscious or unconscious) to fulfil an underlying purpose, to advance a cause. We do not mean that there is no human interest in the higher mathematics. Our essential thesis, that *all* science is tendentious, is an assertion of the contrary. It is a question of degree; but even in such abstract sciences as history and philosophy, writers are readable, are instructive, precisely in proportion as they refrain from attempting an impossible "impartiality." But the more abstract the science, the more, in the interest of truthful statement, must tendency be kept under control. Broadly speaking, the gradation is plain enough. Tendentious algebra would be ridiculous; tendentious arithmetic has landed many an accountant

behind prison bars. These are abstract sciences, with which tendency has little to do, and in which the emotional element must be severely repressed. But the science of economics is studied primarily for its bearing upon the advancement of human life. Untendentious economics, untendentious sociology, are, we would urge, as absurd, as impossible, as untendentious violin-playing or untendentious football.

We choose economics as our illustrative science for two reasons. In the first place, it is the favourite subject in working-class adult education. Secondly, it is a test instance. The Plebs League has been repeatedly blamed for advocating the teaching of "merely socialist economics." On the other hand, the Workers Educational Association prides itself on the impartial character of the economic science taught in the Tutorial Classes. Quite true, proletarian economics is communistically tendentious, being economics studied by communists for communists. The underlying purpose of the study is to promote communism. The affect (as the New Psychology would phrase it) is a deep-rooted and emotionally tinged conviction that communist economics is calculated to advance the workers' cause. But "orthodox economics," which means pre-Marxist economics, is in reality no less tendentious. The difference between the Marxists and the non-Marxists is that the Marxists are frankly aware of the nature of their prepossessions, whereas the non-Marxists falsely imagine that they can keep emotional leanings out of a study which by its very nature is tendentious. Economics that is not "merely socialist" is the

economics of the master class. "Official" economists are—almost literally—"chaplains to the pirate ship!"

PROLETARIAN ECONOMICS AS A CALL TO ARMS

There is an excellent story of an oriental student at a western university who was asked why he regarded with so much disfavour the works of the orthodox economists, the writers who claim to be purely scientific, to be quite free from distorting tendency. "These writings," he answered, "are variations upon a single theme. They all endeavour to teach the art of extracting honey from the hive without alarming the bees." Very different is the purpose of proletarian economics, of prerevolutionary Proletcult. Its purpose is, as the Plebs League phrases it, "to further the interests of Independent Working-Class Education as a partisan effort to improve the position of labour in the present, and ultimately to assist in the abolition of wage-slavery." In a word, the primary object of our tendentious economics, and of all our tendentious proletarian education, is to alarm the bees.

Aux armes, citoyens! To arms, comrades! You are being robbed every hour of your working day, and every hour of your unemployment. Not merely do the drones rifle you of your material goods (no small thing, though it may seem a trifle to those who have never known want). But inasmuch as you are robbed of these material things, and in virtue of the whole system which robs you of these things, you are being robbed of far greater treasures; of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. If you would end this despoilment,

overturn the old order, and create the new. There are three means by which, in collaboration, you will bring about this revolutionary change: political organisation in the ranks of the Communist Party; mass action on the part of the organised workers; and proletarian culture.

Now Proletcult is the lamp whereby all the roads of advance are lighted.

CHAPTER TWO

WHAT IS PROLETCULT?

New ideas make a more definite impression on the mind when they are associated with a new name.—WALTER RATHENAU. (In Days to Come, p. 247.)

TERMINOLOGY

PROLETARIANS who are alive to their class interest (which is the true interest of civilisation) will insist upon doing their own thinking; they will insist upon Independent Working-Class Education, upon proletarian culture, upon Proletcult. The term Independent Working-Class Education is about twelve years old. The word Proletcult is fire-new, and brings us up with a jar against the question of terminology.

Proletcult is a compact term, a "portmanteau word," for proletarian culture. In the prerevolutionary phase, when a specifically proletarian culture is requisite as a fighting culture, as a means to the social revolution, Proletcult is practically synonymous with what is generally known in this country by the cumbrous name of Independent Working-Class Education. What do we understand by education? In the widest sense of the term, education signifies the sum of the environmental influences which act on the individual so

as to promote his mental development, and transform him from the savage he is at birth into a civilised human being. But as a method of culture deliberately employed, Proletcult, like all educational methods, is tendentious, for it has a definite aim. Just as bourgeois education—"higher-class" education in public schools, private schools, and universities, and "lower-class" education in the State schools—has the definite aim of promoting the maintenance of the existing order; so Independent Working-Class Education has the definite aim of subverting that order. Both types of education are tendentious. The only difference between them in this respect is that bourgeois education is less consciously tendentious, and often claims to be entirely above the battle, to be purely impartial. Independent Working-Class Education proclaims itself to be candid but not impartial. Its frankness in this respect is a source of strength. An essential element of proletarian culture is the belief that all education outside the domain of the extremely abstract sciences like mathematics and outside the domain of the purely physical sciences like mechanics, all education which involves imparting a knowledge of man's place in nature and society, is necessarily tendentious. In the first chapter we offered a reasoned justification of tendency in science and education. Our present concern is not to justify Proletcult, but to explain what the word means.

In the postrevolutionary phase—for instance, in Soviet Russia—Proletcult broadens out in two directions. Before the social revolution, it is mainly if not exclusively a fighting culture.

Dominated throughout by the tactic of the class struggle, Independent Working-Class Education can pay little attention to the arts and graces of life. At best, its interest in these is incidental merely, in so far as they are vehicles of propaganda —what Tolstoi termed "means of infection." Economics, economic geography, history, biology, sociology, psychology, politics (in the Aristotelian sense)—these are the subjects which, taught from the proletarian outlook, render the worker's mind immune to bourgeois ideology. They arouse the revolutionary spirit and mentality essential to the overthrow of capitalism and to the upbuilding of a society based upon labour instead of ownership, upon production for use instead of production for profit. After the revolution in any particular country, and until the world-wide proletarian revolution has been achieved, the need for a fighting culture still remains; but such a culture differs in certain respects from prerevolutionary Proletcult. The workers' vanguard has overthrown the capitalist State, has achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat. Just as, under capitalism, the aim of capitalist State education is to produce in the children of the workers a mentality suitable to the purposes of the capitalist State, to inoculate with bourgeois ideology those who are proletarian by status, to make of them docile wage-slaves and submissive instruments of capitalism; so, under workers' rule, the workers will use the machinery of State education to produce an average mentality tending to stabilise the workers' State. This is what the Soviet Government is successfully accomplishing in Russia.

Except for the fact that after the revolution the whole curriculum can be directed towards these ends, whereas in the capitalist State the influences of Independent Working-Class Education can for the most part be brought to bear only as an occasional antidote or as a supplement to the bourgeois culture of the State schools, there is not much difference at first sight between prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary Proletcult. But apart from these elements of a fighting culture, the workers' State can now to an increasing extent devote its attention to what we have termed the arts and graces of life. The social revolution will have released the creative forces slumbering in the proletariat; art and science will blossom abundantly and will assume new forms. It is to these developments that the term Proletcult was first applied in Soviet Russia. They will be fully considered in a special chapter. Enough here to say that in Germany, Proletcult is understood in the wider sense in which the word is employed in this book. Indeed, the more ample conception of Proletcult is now gaining ground in Russia itself.

Before quitting the somewhat arid field of definition, it seems expedient to say that no definition of such terms as proletariat, bourgeoisie, class struggle, revolution, etc., is considered requisite. This is a study of Proletcult, not of economics or sociology. The words are employed in the sense usual in modern Marxist literature. In so far as the authors may have any message of their own to convey upon such topics, they have conveyed that message in a little volume entitled *Creative Revo-*

lution. Enough to say here that Proletcult, as a fighting culture, is based upon the conception of the class struggle; that its fundamental aim, in the prerevolutionary phase, is to render the workers class-conscious, and thus to give them both the knowledge and the fighting impetus which will enable them to achieve their historic mission—the final overthrow of capitalism and the inauguration of the classless State The idea of the class struggle will run through this book like a red thread, differentiating proletarian culture from bourgeois culture supplied to proletarians.

CULTURE

Culture is not synonymous with education. Education is something which acts; it is an agent. Culture is often used to denote the agent, but it is also used to denote the result. Education produces culture. This culture, the result of education, is what the Marxists term an ideology; it is a system of ideas, a "Weltanschauung" or outlook-upon-the-world, a philosophy of life. Regarded as an ideology, the culture of each class, each social group, each occupational group, differs from the culture of all the rest. To take a familiar instance; the ideology of a doctor, his outlook on disease, differs fundamentally from the ideology of his patient—and this simply as an outcome of training, quite apart from a possible conflict of interests between doctor and patient when both are under the capitalist harrow. Similarly as regards master and servant, as regards employer and employed; the different relationships give different ideologies, different cultures. We see

these contrasts at every turn. The culture of the sportsman is at variance with the culture of his quarry. Assuredly it is not surprising that an exploited class endeavouring to throw off the yoke of an exploiting class should find it essential to develop the elements of its own culture.

Let us pass on from these aspects of culture, to consider a still broader meaning of that elusive term. We must speak of culture in the widest possible sense, as the product of education in the widest possible sense. We must speak of culture as including all the achievements whereby man has gained the mastery over nature; all the acquirements which are enabling him by degrees to control the social environment and his own complex personality; and all the iridescent manifestations of art and science wherein man seeks self-expression and whereby he is enabled to enjoy the splendour of life. Culture in this extended sense is at once the raw material of civilisation and its finest fruit. As the raw material of civilisation, as the culture of those whom Müller-Lyer (*History of Social Development*) classifies as the Nature Peoples, culture of course existed prior to civilisation. Savages had and have their typical cultures; the culture of the lower hunters, the higher hunters, and the fishers, respectively. Barbarians had and have their cultures; the culture of the pastoralists, and the cultures of the various types of agriculturists. But the higher developments of culture occur only among the Culture Folk; among horticulturists, plough culturists, and commerce culturists. Accompaniments of the more intensive cultivation of the soil, their predominant cause is

leisure. In the elementary stages of civilisation (all that man has hitherto traversed) leisure is possible only through the division of labour, through the differentiation of men into professions and trades, and through the segregation of society into classes. The workers do not yet do their own thinking. They are slaves, peasants, serfs, journeymen, or wage-slaves. Art and science, the richer developments of the life of feeling and thought, are the product and the privilege of a leisure class, and have their roots in the exploitation of labour. "In capitalist society, spare time is acquired for one class by converting the whole lifetime of the masses into labour-time." Marx, *Capital,* vol. i., p. 540).

Thus the higher culture arises only as the product of leisure. One of the paradoxes of what is termed "social" development has been that all down the ages of civilisation it has been rendered possible solely through the break-up of the unity of primitive society, thus producing a type of "society" rent asunder by the class struggle. For the higher culture to be possible, "man" must be freed from the need to give his whole time to the immediate tasks imposed by the struggle for existence. That is to say, certain men (and women) must be freed from these immediate tasks. Moreover, human mentality must be so far advanced that these men and women have a desire for active mental employment during the leisure which class differentiation has granted them. At all times hitherto, and among all classes, desire for the advancement of culture and capacity for the enjoyment of higher culture, have been con-

fined to a small minority of our race. Among civilised humanity, most grown-ups devote their spare time to games and sports, and other forms of pseudo-culture. This is just as true of the proletariat as of the bourgeoisie. The reduction of the hours of toil which has been achieved by the mass action of organised labour is turned to account, for cultural purposes, only by the few. An essential element of Proletcult is the design to make the workers realise that, apart from what is really needful for physical relaxation and mental refreshment, amusements and pseudo-culture are part of the dope whereby their attention is diverted from the class war and whereby their slave status is maintained. It is probable that only a minority is intellectually capable of responding to the call of Proletcult—but in critical hours a sufficiently large, well-informed, and enthusiastic minority can always sway the inert mass.

PHASEOLOGY OF CULTURE

We must now consider the phaseology of culture, of that higher culture which is characteristic of civilisation. For our present purposes, three main phases may be distinguished: aristocratic and theocratic culture; democratic culture; ergatocratic culture, or the culture of the phase upon which civilisation is now entering, the culture which is at once the cause and the effect of ergatocracy or workers' rule.

Aristocratic and theocratic culture are avowedly the privilege of a leisure class, which avowedly aims at perpetuating its rule. In both cases, the sustainers of culture are the stipendiaries of the

exploiting caste, but they are not always by origin members of that caste. The members of a hereditary aristocracy are often rude and uncultured persons; but some of them love culture for its own sake; and many of them are patrons, willing to grant leisure to those talented members of a lower class who can devote themselves to the advancement of culture. In a theocracy, culture is the privilege of a priestly caste, sometimes hereditary, but more often recruited from among all strata of the population. But whether the culture of this phase be aristocratic or theocratic, it is invariably and jealously reserved for members of the governing class and their hangers-on. There is no culture for the "common people," for the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

Democratic culture is characteristic of the phase in social development now drawing to a close. In its later stages, throughout all the countries where a highly differentiated capitalistic civilisation prevails, culture is professedly universal. In actual fact, however—while there is culture for the dominant class and for those aspiring members of the working class who can usefully replenish the forces of capitalism—for the working class as a whole there is only schooling. State education, in the modern bourgeois State, aims at giving that minimum of instruction which is requisite for the nominally "educated" citizens of bourgeois parliamentarism, and essential for the wage-slaves under the complicated technique of modern capitalist production. For the rest, such elements of bourgeois culture as are allowed to filter through to the "lower" classes are designed to

drug the workers' minds into acceptance of the existing system.

" 'Ever heard of a pithed frog?' said the Tramp. —'Pithed frog,' said the Angel. 'No!'—'It's a thing these here vivisectionists do. They takes a frog and they cuts out his brains and they shoves a bit of pith in the place of 'em. That's a pithed frog. Well—that there village is full of pithed human beings.'—The Angel took it quite seriously. 'Is that so?' he said.—'That's so—you take my word for it. Everyone of them 'as 'ad their brains cut out and chunks of rotten touchwood put in the place of it. And you see that little red place there?'—'That's called the national school,' said the Angel.—'Yes—that's where they piths 'em,' said the Tramp." (H. G. Wells, *The Wonderful Visit*, Chapter xxx.).

We do not assert that this is the outcome of a deliberate policy, for our capitalist rulers are less intelligent than communists are apt to believe. But that is the way things work out in practice. Moreover, the bourgeoisie no less than the proletariat is becoming class-conscious; and to an increasing extent the class war is a manifestation of purposive actions and reactions. Thus, as far as may be, higher culture is exclusively reserved for the members of the bourgeois class. *Prolcs* is given nothing but the three R's until he demands more with irresistible emphasis. Then, to divert his attention from the class struggle, he is given carefully graded doses of "impartial" education in the form of University Extension.

Ergatocratic culture is Proletcult. Elsewhere the authors have expounded their conception of

ergatocracy, the new name which is to enable a new idea to make a more definite impression on the mind. Ergatocracy is "workers' rule." Through the dictatorship of the proletariat it will save civilisation from perishing in the shipwreck of capitalism. Through the dictatorship of the proletariat it will realise that higher phase of ergatocracy when there will be no more proletariat. Proletarians form a working class; under ergatocracy, when all will be workers, there will be a classless State. Primarily, as has been said, ergatocratic culture, workers' culture, proletarian culture, Proletcult, is a fighting culture, aiming at the overthrow of capitalism, and at the replacement of democratic culture and bourgeois ideology by ergatocratic culture and proletarian ideology. In this stage it is avowedly a class culture. In the postrevolutionary phase, when ergatocracy has been realised, and in proportion as it becomes possible to relax the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the first time in the history of civilisation culture will become a universal culture. It is likely enough that it will continue even then, when the proletariat has ceased to exist, to bear the name of the class from which it sprang. Walter Rathenau coins a useful phrase when he speaks of the principle of the Substitution of the Content. When historic conditions change, old names often persist, but by degrees a new wine is put into the old bottles. So significant is the contrast between bourgeois culture and proletarian culture, so tremendous is the present turning-point in the world's history, that it may well happen that the first universal culture will continue to bear the name

of Proletcult long after the proletariat has passed away, having fulfilled its historic mission.

We need not concern ourselves with these distant vistas. Enough here and now for us to understand the fighting culture of the proletariat, the culture which will achieve and consolidate the proletarian revolution, and will then proceed to reap the harvest of that revolution. This is what we mean by Proletcult.

CHAPTER THREE

WANDERINGS IN THE EDUCATIONAL WILDERNESS

The only education that can be of service to the workers is an education that gives to them a grasp of their own position in society and an understanding of their mission.—William Mellor. (Direct Action, p. 134.)

FROM ECCLESIASTICUS TO MARX

An idea for which the time is ripe secures so rapid and so universal an acceptance that it is often difficult to ascertain where it was first formulated. It has been contended that the idea of what we have termed revolutionary Proletcult originated with the French syndicalists, and was introduced into Britain by British disciples. But the first attempt at Independent Working-Class Education in Britain had no such origin. W. Nairne, of the Social Democratic Federation, organised Marxist classes on the Clyde as long ago as the nineties. Nairne died young in 1898, and the work was carried on more systematically by George Yates and Jim Connolly, who led the left wing of the Scottish S.D.F. against Hyndman and Quelch.

The idea of the class struggle is almost as old

as the class struggle itself, and the class struggle is a universal manifestation throughout the history of civilisation. A cry that has come down through the ages is that of Jesus the son of Sirach: "What peace is there between the hyena and the dog; and what peace between the rich man and the poor? Wild asses are the prey of lions in the wilderness; so poor men are pastures for the rich. . . . A poor man speaketh, and they say, Who is this? And if he stumble, they will help to overthrow him." (Ecclesiasticus, XIII, 18, 19, and 23). But the idea of using education as a subversive instrument could hardly originate in Judaea more than two thousand years ago. Nor can we expect to find such a notion formulated by any of the great utopists, from Plato and More and Campanella down to Hertzka and Wells; for most of the utopists have been social solidarians. There is an effective social solidarity—if only people would realise it! Goodwill and Ripe Intelligence will solve the social problem without anything so crude as class war and revolutionary education! In fact the usual poppycock of the apostles of a Change of Heart and of the potentially perfect Rationality of Man!

But there was one socialist who wrote a utopian romance and yet was most certainly not a utopist. The author of *News from Nowhere* was on the track of the idea of revolutionary education as long ago as 1893. In his lecture on *Communism* (published as Fabian Tract No. 113, with preface by G.B.S.), William Morris writes: "What we have to hope for is that the inevitable advance of the society of equality will make itself felt by the conscious-

ness of its necessity being impressed upon the working people, and that they will consciously and not blindly strive for its realisation. That in fact is what we mean by the education into socialism of the working classes" (p. 9). Again (p. 10): the existing system of society "may well seem like the operation of a natural law to men so uneducated that they have not even escaped the reflexion of the so-called education of their masters, but in addition to their other mishaps are saddled also with the superstitions and hypocrisies of the upper classes, with scarce a whit of the characteristic traditions of their own class to help them: an intellectual slavery which is a necessary accompaniment of their material slavery." Yet again (also on p. 10): "Are we to give up all hope of educating them into socialism? Surely not. Let us use all possible means for drawing them into socialism, so that at last they may find themselves in such a position that they understand themselves to be face to face with false society, themselves the only possible elements of true society." Undoubtedly, we have here the idea of Proletcult in the germ.

There had, indeed, been no lack in England of preachers of the class war. One of the earliest and most notable was the "Mad Priest of Kent," the gist of whose sermons has been preserved by Froissart. "Good people," said John Ball, "things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? They have leisure and fine houses; we have

pain and 'labour,' the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and our toil that these men hold their state." But there is no revolutionary educational propaganda in the sermons of John Ball, except in so far as he proclaims the class war. In this sense he was a modern. So in this sense was Spartacus. Yet it is a far cry from preaching and waging the class war in moments when the struggle becomes acute, to the recognition that revolutionary education is of enormous importance and may at certain times and in certain places become the decisive factor in the inauguration of the classless State.

Robert Owen, in Essays on the Formation of Character (1813-1815), puts forward ideas which foreshadow the methods of postrevolutionary Proletcult. It was by an education not unlike that which is now being carried on in Russia that Owen secured his wonderful successes at New Lanark. But there was no prerevolutionary Proletcult, no tincture of the ideas of Independent Working-Class Education, in the proposals of Robert Owen. He appealed to the government to assist him in his plans, thus showing clearly that at this time he failed to understand the true nature of the capitalist State.

The Chartists and the founders of trade unionism in Britain had, for their date, a wonderfully clear grasp of the significance of the class struggle. But they had no educational policy of any kind, and there is not even a demand for "popular education" under State auspices among the famous six points of the Charter. Perhaps the clearest pre-Victorian announcements of the class

struggle as it manifests itself under capitalist conditions are those which appeared in a Chartist paper published in Manchester, and entitled "The Poor Man's Guardian." Here an anonymous weaver writes: "People who live by plunder, will always tell you to be submissive to thieves" (March 19, 1832). "There is no common interest between working men and profit-makers." (April 14, 1832). The former of these two quotations contains an acute analysis of the educational policy of the "haves," but no educational policy is outlined by the writer for the "have-nots." The most notable early formulation of such a policy was to come fifteen years later from the greatest of all socialist theorists, Marx and Engels. An emphatic pronouncement of the *Communist Manifesto* on this subject has been quoted as the motto of our first chapter. Again and again, the *Manifesto* insists upon the contrast between bourgeois culture and ideology on the one hand and proletarian culture and ideology on the other. "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence. . . . The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." But we do not find, we cannot expect to find, in the *Communist Manifesto* a definite educational policy

for revolutionists, a definite recognition of the fact that the workers' vanguard must deliberately strive to diffuse the elements of a new culture. More than forty years were to be spent in wanderings in the wilderness before this was to become the deliberate educational policy of the revolutionary proletariat.

DOWN AMONG THE MASSES

Numerous have been the organisations in Britain aiming at the adult education of the workers. Contemporary bodies like the Young Men's Christian Association, whose avowed purpose it is to "do good" to the poor, to "instruct" the ignorant, and to "uplift" the lowly, need be mentioned only to be dismissed. Their whole ideology is bourgeois or petty bourgeois; their psychology is for the most part medieval; individualist "success" either in this world or the next is their objective. Their only bearing upon the class struggle is that they are among the agencies that assist in obscuring its issues, and that in this way they cooperate towards the stabilisation of the existing order. Since the war, indeed, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have been definitely and consciously used to supply educational "dope" to intelligent youths and maidens.

More interesting are the attempts that have been made to promote working-class education of a character ostensibly freed from the dominance of outworn creeds. Among these, the Working Men's College founded in London in the year 1854, a similar body established not long afterwards in Sheffield, and kindred organisations, deserve

especial mention. But all such bodies were the offspring of middle and upper class movements, designed by well-meaning philanthropists to confer the boon of knowledge on their social inferiors—in days when a large proportion of the population was still unable to read and write. The benevolent founders of these institutions suffered greatly from what the Freudians term the "superiority complex." Two extracts will show how utterly alien to any revolutionary spirit were these early experiments in adult education.

The first extract relates to Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872) usually regarded as the originator of the Christian Socialist movement in England. Maurice, writes Beer (*History of British Socialism*, London, 1919-20, Vol. II, pp. 180-2), "believed that God had an educational plan for the world, by which the perfection of the individual and the race was to be accomplished. . . . His main idea was to Socialise the Christian and to Christianise the Socialist. Socialism appeared to him to be essentially the business of the Church and not of the State. . . . He was no democrat, and condemned the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people as subversive."

Another leading spirit in the early days of the Working Men's College was F. J. Furnivall (1825-1910), in youth a celebrated oarsman, in later life a distinguished philologist, and always a genial eccentric. The Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, editor of an excellent history entitled *The Working Men's College*, 1854-1904, refers to Furnivall's popularity among the students, and tells us in a footnote that "Dr. Furnivall represents a line of action that

was out of harmony in some respects with Maurice's views and feelings." Furnivall's principle was that every man was to be treated as an equal and a friend. • He would have liked the students to be allowed beer in the College at supper, and remarks that since the Council was firm on teetotalism [for working men!], he and his students had many a jolly evening at a neighbouring pub. And yet there was a subtle and subconscious flavour of patronage even about Furnivall's attitude. Original in spelling as in other matters he writes (op. cit. pp. 55/6): "I urged every teacher to have his class to tea at his own rooms, if possible. . . . As an instance of how this workt I may give the case of a student, a lithographer, who met me in Camden Town some thirty-five years after he had been a member of my grammar class. After telling me *how well he had got on*, what classes he was teaching drawing to, etc., he said: 'And do you know how all this came about?' 'No,' said I. 'Then I'll tell you,' answered he. 'I was in your class at the College, and you askt me to tea with some of the others. *I'd never been in a gentleman's room before, and when I came out, after seeing your pictures, books, and chairs, I said to myself, "I'll have as good a room as that." And now I've got a better.*' Cheering, wasn't it, and so unexpected. Ruskin and most of our teachers had their classes to tea." We have taken the liberty of italicising the more salient passages, with their quaint aroma of "Self-Help" and Samuel Smiles. Could the gospel of "Climb out of the working class," as opposed to the gospel of "Expropriate the expropriators

and install the classless commonwealth," find more ingenuous expression?

It will be obvious that in these Working Men's Colleges there was no breath of that vivifying atmosphere of the class struggle which sweeps like a draught of fresh air through the early trade-unionist movement and to a lesser extent through the early cooperative movement. Though called Working Men's Colleges, they were in no sense whatever a spontaneous product of the working-class spirit, a manifestation of the demand for a distinctively proletarian culture. Like Toynbee Hall, Oxford House, the University Extension Movement, and similar products of the late-Victorian era, these mid-Victorian educational activities were the gifts of conscience-stricken members of the bourgeois class, the gifts of persons willing to do anything for the workers—except get off their backs. When they were not the outcome of what we now call "swank"! When the motive was not simply that of the idler in search of sensation, the motive which animated so many of the fashionable "slummers" of the eighties. We recall the words of the dying Lumpenproletarian in May Kendall's "Ballad of the Cadger" (*Dreams to Sell*, London, 1887):

> "Go down among the masses!"
> Why, every blessed toff—
> It isn't us he cares for,
> It's showing hisself off!

So much for the first stirrings of the movement for adult education in Britain. We must now turn to consider later developments, still pre-

Marxian in their ideology though not pre-Marxian in time. Largely proletarian in origin, they belong to the era of advanced capitalism, when international competition and the developments of industrial technique (to say nothing of the exigencies of modern warfare) had enforced the acceptance of universal State education. But State education in Britain was, until yesterday, continued only up to the age of 14. After this brief schooling, came years of neglect and drift, until in early adult life a certain proportion of the workers grew aware of the desire for a fuller education. Prior to the formation of the Plebs League and the subsequent foundation of the Central Labour College, the chief organisations to cope with that need were those connected with the Adult School Movement, the Cooperative Movement, and the Workers' Educational Association.

CHAPTER FOUR

FALSE ROUTES

The direction of the mind is more important than its progress.—JOSEPH JOUBERT. (Thoughts, No. 266.)

THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1870

A DISCUSSION of State education lies beyond the scope of this book. We write in the conviction that the capitalist State represents the interests of the capitalist class. The whole theory of Proletcult implies a belief that at the present stage of social development the interest of the working class has become the primary interest of civilisation, and that a true civilisation can only be achieved through the revolutionary instrument of Independent Working-Class Education. The bourgeoisie, no less than the proletariat, grows increasingly class conscious as the hour for the final struggle approaches, and it would be absurd to expect the master class to provide the weapons for its own expropriation. But though the master class has never ceased to wage the class struggle, it is to proletarian philosophy that the world owes a recognition of the existence and the nature of that struggle. It was in the days before the characteristics of the modern working-class movement were understood, that capitalist States were

compelled by historic forces to establish systems of universal and compulsory elementary education. Wanderings in the educational wilderness were inevitable so long as the working population was for the most part illiterate in the crudest sense of that term. Not until after Foster's Act of 1870, whereby elementary education was made compulsory in Britain, could there arise the first intimations of a movement in favour of Independent Working-Class Education.

THE ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT

The Adult School Movement has not emerged from the educational wilderness, but is included in the present chapter rather than in the last because it is a vigorous contemporary undertaking, and because its activities may (to a minimal extent) serve to supply recruits for the revolutionary army. It is the oldest educational movement in this country among those which attempt to supply the need for adult working-class education. The first Adult School was established in 1798, and many others flourished in the early decades of the nineteenth century. During the first fifty years and more of their existence, their chief function was to teach illiterates to read. From 1852 onwards, the Society of Friends played an active part in promoting the development of Adult Schools. Since 1874 there has been a steady growth in their number, and their educational work has come to predominate over their religious activities. Writing in the *W.E.A. Education Year Book (1918)*, the secretary to the National Adult School Union speaks of "its 18,000 school communities, meeting

weekly for consecutive study, its hundreds of study circles, its courses of lectures, its week-end lecture schools, its summer schools, and its many tutorial and similar classes."

But a careful study of the publications of the Union will impress the Proletculturist with the importance of the distinction drawn by Joseph Joubert (the French philosopher) when he wrote "the direction of the mind is more important than its progress." We emerge from a perusal of the Adult School literature with the feeling that we have been plunged in a bath of Uplift, of Earnestness, of Undenominational Goodness. But our minds have been given no direction whatever, save towards an undefined "progress," or towards the chimera of "social solidarity" in a community rent asunder by the class struggle. This "non-partisan education" leads nowhither. Consciously, at least. Unconsciously, with its inculcation of the ideal of social service, with its blindness to the realities of the class war, it tends to perpetuate the bias the pupils have already received in the State elementary schools—to perpetuate the belief that the present world-order is the final form of civilisation, and that no improvements are needed beyond reforms within the existing system. The Adult Schools, under present auspices, can have no Proletcultural influence whatever. When not effectively reactionary, they are monuments of wasted effort. For the most part they make for reaction. We live in one of those critical epochs in which we must show our colours. The revolutionist's slogan must be, "Who is on my side? He who is not for me is against me."

COÖPERATIVE EDUCATION

Cooperators' interest in education dates from a period long antecedent to the Elementary Education Act. The Rochdale pioneers (1844) made a rule "that a definite percentage of profits should be allotted to education." This example has been followed more or less faithfully throughout the history of the movement, and the model rules of the Cooperative Union recommend to every society the putting aside of 2½% of its surplus as an educational fund, and the election of a special committee for administration. At the present time cooperators are spending something like £100,000 a year upon educational activities. Since the cooperative movement is most emphatically an independent working-class movement, and since the pioneer cooperators (at any rate) were inspired with the belief that their movement was destined to achieve a social revolution, it might be expected that cooperative education would develop in the direction of Independent Working-Class Education, in the direction of revolutionary proletarian culture. The Duke of Northumberland, we learn from "The Spectator" of August 14, 1920, actually believes that Robert Smillie's policy is to capture the cooperative movement for revolution! But the dominant economic system has been too strong for the cooperators. Despite the success of distributive cooperation, cooperation has not proved itself to be a revolutionary force. Nor has the cooperators' mentality escaped the universally infective influence of bourgeois ideology.

What is the "direction" of the coöperative mind in educational matters? It is announced

on the cover of "The Cooperative Educator," a monthly magazine published by the Cooperative Union Limited. Here we read: "The objects of cooperative education are, primarily, the formation of cooperative character and opinions by teaching the history, theory, and principles of the movement, with economics and industrial and constitutional history in so far as they have a bearing on cooperation; and secondarily, though not necessarily of less import, the training of men and women to take part in industrial and social reforms and civic life generally." This formula dates from 1885, when a Central Educational Committee of the Cooperative Union was established for the purpose of directing and coordinating the educational policy and the educational work of the societies. It will be obvious that the aims of cooperative education are twofold. The first of these may be defined as "technical education" for cooperators. The second aim is to train cooperators to become useful reformers within the existing order. Not a word about the class war; not a word about the social revolution! In the recommendations in regard to cooperative education presented to the Swansea Cooperative Congress (1917), there are repeated references to "joint action for educational purposes with other working-class organisations." The bodies specifically named are Ruskin College, Oxford; The Working Men's College, London; and The Workers' Educational Association. Significant indeed is the omission! The Labour College desires no support from laodiceans. But the fact that the Labour College is not one of the working-class organisa-

tions with which the cooperative educationists propose to cooperate, indicates that cooperators are not class conscious but only cooperator conscious.

For Proletcultural purposes the cooperative movement would seem to be useless because it is not animated with the spirit of revolution. The cooperation is a cooperation between the slaves and the machine which drives them. Such cooperation is no more than a lubricant easing the chafe of the chains, but incapable of loosening these chains. To be cooperator conscious is not enough. Revolutionary class consciousness is essential.

There are, indeed, stirrings of such a consciousness in the latest cooperative educational document which has been brought to our notice. On p. 97 of the *Educational Programme and Syllabuses of Classes for the Session 1920-21* it is refreshing to read : "For many years, cooperative students and others, have experienced a sense of dissatisfaction with the orthodox theories of economics, and with the manner in which economics is presented in text-books and in the majority of classes. . . . The study of wealth pursuit has overshadowed the study of communal wellbeing." . . . We "cannot transform the present system without understanding it" . . . and so on, and so on.

Shade of Adam Smith! Could you but have foreseen how, in post-Marxian days, the "dismal science" was to become the favourite subject of proletarian study, and was predestined to act as a revolutionary high explosive. If these cooperative students get to work on an analysis of the contradictions latent in the term "communal well-

being," the basis of harmonious joint action with Ruskin College and the W.E.A. may speedily be undermined.

RUSKIN COLLEGE

Ruskin College, a residential institution for adult working-class students, was founded at Oxford in the year 1899. Strangely enough, the founders were not British, but American admirers of John Ruskin. In view of John Ruskin's long and intimate association with Oxford, it is perhaps not surprising that for this extension of the "benefits" of university training to members of the working class they should have chosen what is commonly regarded as the most reactionary of all British universities. But it is certainly worthy of note that one of the American founders (Charles Beard) has since placed on record his opinion that "the modern university does not have for its major interest the free, open, and unafraid consideration of modern issues." For this is the fundamental fact about Ruskin College and its connexion with Oxford. This is what led, ten years after the foundation, to the revolt of the pioneer British Proletculturists, students at Ruskin College who believed that the College was imbibing the university atmosphere instead of guiding a revolutionary movement.

Of the revolt and its consequences, more in the proper place. Enough to say here that the College seeks to supply a training in subjects which are essential for working-class leadership. But the leaders must be of the "safe and sane" variety, warranted not to go too far. The College at

present has no endowments, but is supported by trade unions, cooperative societies, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and other working-class organisations. Individual subscribers help the finances. Six hundred students have passed through the College in one and two year courses, and more than ten thousand have taken out correspondence courses. Owing to the difficulty of providing the requisite income of £4,000 a year, an appeal was recently issued to the public on behalf of an endowment fund of £76,000. Two among the signatories of this appeal were Arthur James Balfour and David Lloyd George. Nevertheless, since its reorganisation in 1910, Ruskin has been substantially under working-class control as regards finance, and might shake itself free of the "university spirit" if only its governors were genuinely class conscious.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

In the summer of 1903 a conference was held at Oxford, consisting of delegates from various labour and educational organisations, and as a result of this conference there came into existence the body which a few years later was rechristened the W.E.A. An authoritative (and, of course, "unbiased") account of the aims and methods of the W.E.A. is given by Albert Mansbridge in *An Adventure in Working-Class Education, being the Story of the W.E.A., 1903-1915*. Mansbridge was one of the founders, and was general secretary of the Association from 1905 to 1915. He is, therefore, a highly qualified exponent. Let him speak for himself (1920 edition, p. xi.):

"The two streams of labour and scholarship unite to make a great and powerful river of education, which must by an unerring law draw to itself most, if not all, the funnels and rivulets of thought making their way to the open sea of a free people. That is, at once, the condition and meaning of the W.E.A. It conforms to the very ideal of democracy, which preconditions the gathering up of the true influence of every man, woman, and child for translation into the terms of the common life."

Underlying this eloquence is the conception of a social solidarity that is potential, and already to some extent actual, in the existing form of society. Method: "democracy" on the political field; "the union between labour and learning" on the educational field; "friendly relations between employer and employed" on the industrial field. Result: the peaceful—if long delayed—building of the "New Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land."

Those in touch with the realities of modern life, those who believe that there is no political alchemy which can change an industrial or political enemy into an educational friend, those who hold that throughout the world of education there is reproduced the antagonism which prevails in the world of production, will have a contrasted summary of method and result. Method: "ergatocracy" on the political field; "prerevolutionary Proletcult" on the educational field; "unremitting struggle" on the industrial field. Result: strife, until capitalism has been overthrown; establishment of the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat;

forcible resistance to the counter-revolution; post-revolutionary Proletcult, ultimately leading (in the only possible way) to a truly universal culture.

More Mansbridge (op. cit., p. xv.): "The most educated man is he who most completely fills his allotted task in spirit and in act, whether it be the digging of a trench or the writing of a poem."

Comment: Precisely! The task of the proletariat to-day is (metaphorically speaking) to dig trenches. The "most educated" proletarian is the class-conscious proletarian who fits himself by Independent Working-Class Education for the immediately allotted task of the proletariat—the overthrow of bourgeois democracy and the establishment of communist ergatocracy.

Even Mansbridge is uneasy when he contemplates the fugitive splendour of the Mechanics Institute movement and similar mushroom growths of nearly a century ago. "The strange and rapid passing of this movement is due in part to the overwhelming philanthropic nature of the inspiring and creative force which made it possible." This philanthropy is "unfamiliar and repellent to the sensitive ears of a democratic age." (Op. cit. pp. 2/3). Yet Mansbridge is not free from overwhelming philanthropy, from an insufferable desire to "do good," from a note of patronage which grates on the ear of any modern ergatocrat. He admits (p. 20) that in its first blossoming as An Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men, the W.E.A. was not entirely above the reproach of being "an association for making people good." But, after this brief self-criticism, he goes on to speak (p. 22) of an "opposition which was

restricted to a few persons who declared that the Association was a device to sidetrack the attention of working men and women from their legitimate movement."

But what is the "legitimate movement" of working men and women, and what is their "allotted task"? Even within the W.E.A. the opposition of those who do not share Albert Mansbridge's views on these matters is not always that of "a few persons." Let us quote William Mellor (*Direct Action*, pp. 129/30): "Fortunately for the W.E.A. its constitution leaves to the students a great amount of liberty. . . . They can . . . manage their own affairs . . . get rid of the official view and . . . secure that the type of education given is more revolutionary than would meet with the approval of the Board of Education, of the universities, or of many of the supporters of the W.E.A. But this result is only obtained by throwing overboard the 'non-political and non-partisan' character of the organisation—in other words, by giving up the pretence that education takes no sides. It is, indeed, just in those places where the official view has least hold, that the W.E.A. succeeds in securing the support of the working classes, and in thereby becoming an efficient instrument of working-class education. Places like the West Riding of Yorkshire, for instance, have managed to evade most of the regulations designed to keep the W.E.A. in the straight path, and the workers do control their own education." In such cases it will be vain for Mansbridge to express his horror at the idea of "prostituting the educational machinery of the

W.E.A. for political and revolutionary ends" (letter to "Sunday Times," January 2, 1921). Despite the clucking of the old hen on the bank, the duckling brood has taken to the water.

There has been much discussion (*Adventure*, p. 31), as to the best phrase to denote the fundamental purpose of the W.E.A. "Educational ladder" and "educational corridor" were mooted and rejected. The term "educational highway" was ultimately adopted, and "The Highway" is the name of the monthly organ of the Association. "Along the broad highway of congenial study, postman and professor, manual labourer and university graduate, journey in complete amity" ("Spectator," July 17, 1920, reviewing Mansbridge's book). But whither is your highway to lead? Round and round the mulberry bush?

We are building a new highway too, and it will lead to a new world. *Our* immediate goal is the social revolution.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PLEBS LEAGUE AND THE CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE.

Copartnership in education is based on the same false economics as copartnership in labour, and they are both false beacons kindled by the same hand.—"THE PLEBS MAGAZINE." (July, 1909, vol. I, No. 6. p. 112.)

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY

THE S.L.P. was founded at Glasgow in 1903. Primarily a political party, it was more concerned with ideas as to the industrial reconstruction of society than with politics as ordinarily understood. It was keen on educational work for the diffusion of these ideas. Thus its principal activities for many years were educational.. It devoted great attention to establishing an independent press, the Socialist-Labour Press, by which numerous important reprints and not a few original pamphlets were issued. These constituted the first textbooks of the classes for Independent Working-Class Education in Britain. When Yates left Scotland and Connolly had gone to America, the Marxist classes on the Clyde were mainly conducted by comrades who are still actively interested in Independent Working-Class Education; Tom Clark,

T. Bell, and William Paul. The influence of the Clyde classes no doubt counted for a good deal in the events now to be described, and the name of the Plebs League was suggested by one of the S.L.P. reprints, Daniel de Leon's *Two Pages from Roman History*.

THE RIFT IN THE LUTE AT RUSKIN

The Plebs League and the Labour Colleges are the most typical British expressions of the spirit of prerevolutionary Proletcult. It was through the foundation of the League that British Proletcult became fully aware of its own mission. The movement for revolutionary education is now world-wide. But its most effective incorporation is little more than twelve years old. On November 24, 1908, the Plebs League was founded at Oxford by a group of Ruskin College students who were dissatisfied with the educational trend of that institution. At the outset, Ruskin College had been quasi-revolutionary. Walter Vrooman, one of the American founders, spoke as follows at the inaugural meeting in 1899: "We shall take men who have been merely condemning our social institutions, and will teach them instead how to transform those institutions, so that in place of talking against the world, they will begin methodically and scientifically to possess the world, to refashion it, and to cooperate with the power behind evolution in making it the joyous abode of, if not a perfected humanity, at least a humanity earnestly and rationally striving towards perfection." Quasi-revolutionary aspirations, plus Uplift! Could not the prefix to "revolutionary"

have been dropped with the Uplift—after the Vroomans had departed to the land of their birth, and when labour elements had been increasingly associated with Ruskin College? Could not the College have become the first vigorous centre for revolutionary education? For various reasons, among which the connection with the university was perhaps the most potent, things were not to work out that way. In actual fact, Proletcult was to materialise as a revolt against the reactionary tendencies which ere long gained the upper hand at Ruskin College.

When the founders' financial support had been entirely withdrawn, Ruskin College, having lost its benevolent "patrons," had to seek other sources of supply. It appealed to the trade unions for funds, and was able to get along with trade-union grants and private subscriptions. It came to be regarded as a Labour College; and in 1907 the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade-Union Congress issued an appeal on its behalf. But at the very time when the College was securing increased support from organised labour, and when it had become the exception for any but trade unionists to enter as students, the governors of the College were inviting pecuniary aid from private individuals on the ground that the aim of the institution was "to give working men a sound practical knowledge of subjects which concern them as citizens, thus enabling them to view social questions sanely, and without unworthy class-bias." Another appeal states that "Ruskin College may do something to dissipate the suspicions which threaten the solidarity of society in England

to-day." It was evident that the social solidarians were in the saddle, and were determined to ride the College along the broad highway leading through the land of industrial peace. But among the students were men drawn from regions of industrial strife, and with minds immune to the virus of "university influence."

It was inevitable that these men, who from earliest childhod had been intimately acquainted with the realities of the class war, should refuse to accept the economic doctrines of the master class. Those who had been grounded in the labour theory of value naturally grew impatient when they were blandly informed that "wages are the sacrifice employers have to make in order to get work done." Such teaching seemed to them hopelessly out of date. They had come to Oxford to fit themselves for service in the labour movement, and they had to listen to ideas which conflicted with the basic principles of that movement. It was obvious to them that the education doled out to them was being given in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and gradually there dawned upon their minds the notion that independence in education is no less essential to the working class than independence on the industrial and political fields. Some of the students came to constitute at Ruskin what would nowadays be termed a "ginger group." In 1907 many of them began to form classes among themselves for the independent consideration of the subjects which they regarded as of primary interest. Finally the Plebs League took shape at Oxford in the latter part of 1908. The South Wales Wing of the Plebs came into

existence at Cardiff on January 2nd, 1909, at a meeting convened by students and ex-students of Ruskin College and a few sympathisers. In February, 1909, appeared the first issue of "The Plebs Magazine," the monthly organ of the League.

THE PLEBS MAGAZINE AND THE PLEBS LEAGUE

The genesis of the Proletcult idea can be best understood from a study of the early numbers of the magazine. The object and constitution of the League are printed on the second page of the cover. Here, in the first three issues, we read as object: "to bring about a more satisfactory connection between Ruskin College and the Labour Movement." In the May, 1909, issue, this clause has been expunged, and instead, there is a large-type legend: NOW BEING VOTED UPON. In June the object has become: "to assist in the formation of a Central Labour College for working men and women, at Oxford, and other similar institutions elsewhere, to be controlled by organised Labour bodies." In November, 1909, we read in the same place as object: "to further the interests of the Central Labour College, for working men and women, at Oxford, and to assist in the formation of similar institutions elsewhere, all of these institutions being controlled by organised Labour bodies." In November, 1911, when all connection with the university town had been severed, the words "at Oxford" were replaced by the words "at London."

What was happening in the spring of 1909? A strike among the students of Ruskin College, centring round the personality of Dennis Hird, Prin-

cipal of the College, who had been compelled by the governing body to resign. But the substantial cause of the strike was the dissatisfaction of the students with the social solidarian character of the teaching of controversial subjects like economics and industrial history, and their desire for Independent Working-Class Education animated with the spirit of the class war. The struggle of principle crystallised a few weeks later round another personality, one of the students, George Sims by name (now secretary of the Labour College), who was victimised by dismissal from Ruskin for the prominent part he had taken upon the students' strike committee. Two other students were expelled shortly afterwards: W. W. Craik, of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, now Principal of the London Labour College; and B. McKay, of the United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers.

The formation of the Central Labour College will be considered in a moment. We must first study the development of proletarian ideology in the early issues of the "Plebs Magazine." This periodical was run entirely by students and ex-students, and was probably all the more effective on that account. Dennis Hird was to have been editor, but the College Executive (this was prior to the enforced resignation of the principal) decided that no member of the staff was to be associated in any way with the Plebs League or the Plebs Magazine.

Quite natural was this decision of the social solidarians, since in the very first number of the "Plebs" we are editorially informed that the

mission of the League is to ensure workers' control of the College—not only of finance, but also of the curriculum—(of course this really meant left-wing workers' control), and to bring it about that "the education imparted there shall be of a kind and a quality capable of application in the interests of the working class." The mandate of the League is to secure "the education of the workers in the interests of the workers." The aim of the Oxford influence, in the education given to working-class students at Ruskin College, is, says the March "Plebs," to produce "the synoptic mind." This means that "the brains of those who are likely to lead their fellows are to be surcharged with the ideas of a class above them, so that their [imagined] interests may become identical with the interests of that class." By April, 1909, has come a definite assertion that "proletarian logic is in perpetual antagonism with the logic of our rulers." Again, "no working-class student can undergo a university education and come through it untainted." Yet again, "university life is the breeding ground of reaction." Furthermore, anent a proposal to found a Plebs College in South Wales, "the establishment of working-class colleges throughout the country, owned and controlled by the workers themselves, will do more to hasten the hour of economic deliverance than anything else we know of." Is it surprising that this Rake's Progress towards revolutionary Proletcult should have frightened the social solidarians; that it should have led them to dismiss Hird and to victimise the rebel students, thus accelerating the definite cleavage in outlook and action which was to cul-

minate in the foundation of the Central Labour College?

Hence by May, 1909, the object of the Plebs League had to be transformed. It was now "to assist in the establishing of a new educational structure definitely controlled by organised labour." Concurrently, the theory of Proletcult as expounded in the "Plebs Magazine" becomes even clearer cut. "The time has arrived when the working class must control its own education, when the new structure must be . . . free from any entangling associations with those who govern us" (May). "The second day of August will witness the Declaration of Working-Class Independence in Education" (June). "Copartnership in education is based on the same false economics as copartnership in labour, and they are both false beacons kindled by the same hand" (July). The "gingering-up" of the Plebs policy secured definite expression in the foundation of the Central Labour College as a rival to Ruskin. On the agenda for the first annual meet of the League, held in August, 1909, the item of chief importance was the affirmation of the aforesaid Principle of Independence in Working-Class Education. Passed by acclamation, it ran as follows: "This conference of workers declares that the time has now arrived when the working class should enter the educational world to work out its problems for itself." In conjunction with the foundation of the Central Labour College, this may be regarded as the practical inauguration of Proletcult in Britain. It was probably the first clear manifestation in any part of the world of the conviction that the

revolutionary workers must supplement political organisation and mass action by the policy of Independent Working-Class Education.

THE CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE

The Plebs League was, and remains, a comparatively small propagandist group. It can supply "ginger"; it can disseminate the "Ferment of Revolution" in the educational field; but it has neither the numerical strength nor the financial backing which would enable it to found and maintain educational institutions. That must be the work of organised labour. In so far as these institutions aim at revolutionary education, it must be the work of the left wing of organised labour. Some of the great trade unions which had sent students to Ruskin College were not slow to support the movement of revolt. British organised labour as a whole is still far from understanding the nature of the issues as between the Central Labour College and Ruskin College, and as between the Plebs League and the W.E.A. It is prepared to give almost undiscriminating support to anything which is entitled to call itself "education." The amazing assertion of Arthur Greenwood (*Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, pp. 122-3) that "in spite of the divergence of policy and method between these different agencies they possess a fundamental unity of aim," still secures credence from the confusionists. Confusion is perhaps worse confounded by the teaching of reputed left wingers like G. D. H. Cole, who tries to establish an impossible distinction between "education" and "propaganda" (*W.E.A. Year Book, 1918,* p. 372).

It is, therefore, not surprising that rival propagandist organisations like the Plebs League and the W.E.A., rival educational institutions like Ruskin College and the Central Labour College, should receive the "impartial" support of individuals and sections in the labour movement. But the issues are clearing, and the logic of events will force even the laggards to take a side. Meanwhile the trade-union basis of the Labour College in London is little more extensive than that of the original institution founded at Oxford in 1909, and then known as the Central Labour College. It was transferred to London in 1911. The name Labour College instead of Central Labour College dates only from 1917. Its actual backers and controllers at the present time are the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen, but several other unions maintain resident students at the College. The Labour College (like Ruskin College) was closed during the war. Its activities are now being greatly extended, and new premises are being arranged for at Kew.

Throughout all the years of its existence, the Labour College has had no doubt as to its Proletcultural mission. Here are the words of the latest prospectus. "The Labour College was established with the object of equipping the organised workers with the knowledge adequate for the accomplishment of their industrial and political tasks. . . . Because of the existing economic order of society, with its inevitable cleavage of classes due to two distinct economic rôles, and the resulting clash of conflicting interests as it expresses itself in the struggle between the organised workers and the

owners of capital, the development of social science has been greatly impeded. . . . Working-class education must be independent of all the conventional institutions of education, and . . . must take a partisan form . . . the form of that class which can alone serve the advancement of social science, the science which can alone serve the advancement of that class." Here once again, though the word proletariat does not appear in the prospectus, we have an unmistakable proclamation of the gospel of proletarian culture.

CHAPTER SIX

THE FERMENT OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The workers' vanguard, the party of the communists and the bolsheviks, struggles everywhere, not only for economic freedom, but for the spiritual liberation of the toiling masses. Hitherto the master class, by its control of newspapers, books, and schools, has forged chains for the workers. Organs of enlightenment have been cleverly converted into means for dulling the minds of the people. Economic enfranchisement will come far more quickly when the workers of town and country can clear their minds of the poison of bourgeois ideology.—BUHARIN. (Programme of the World Revolution, Chapter xvii.)

FERRER AND THE MODERN SCHOOLS

PROLETCULT is a worldwide movement. . The new ideology originates spontaneously wherever the appropriate economic conditions ripen. This statement does not imply acceptance of the fatalistic version of Marxism commonly put forward by opponents of the materialist conception of history. The essence of Proletcult is the idea that, while what men think is largely engendered by the material conditions of their existence, and above all

by the dominant types of social production, these thoughts react upon the material conditions, and in revolutionary epochs come to exercise a cataclysmic transformative influence. During the declining phase of capitalism, the new philosophy of the proletariat is becoming a decisive factor in the overthrow of the old order and the upbuilding of the new. In a brief exposition like the present it will obviously be impossible to attempt a detailed survey of the international origins of proletarian culture, and we must content ourselves with selecting a few salient instances. One of the most notable of these was the work of the philosophic anarchist Francisco Ferrer y Guardia, shot at Barcelona on October 12, 1909, having been sentenced by court martial for alleged complicity in a rising there. The death of Ferrer and the suppression of the Modern Schools by the Spanish government, made the movement he had initiated abortive. But in principle he was working upon the lines of prerevolutionary Proletcult, as a few extracts from his writings will show. They are taken from Joseph McCabe's translation of Ferrer's *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School*.

In the "Bulletin of the Modern School" (issue of May 10, 1905), commenting on a recent lecture, Ferrer wrote: "Señor C—— relies upon the State, upon parliament or municipalities, for the building, equipment, and management of scholastic institutions. This seems to me a great mistake. If modern pedagogy means an effort towards the realisation of a new and more just form of society; if it means that we propose to instruct the rising generation in the causes which have brought

about and maintain the lack of social equilibrium; if it means that we are anxious to prepare the race for better days, freeing it from religious fiction and from all idea of submission to an inevitable socio-economic inequality; we cannot entrust it to the State nor to other official organisms which necessarily maintain existing privileges and support the laws which at present consecrate the exploitation of one man by another, the pernicious source of the worst abuses" (op. cit. pp. 34/5). . . . "It is true that children of all classes may attend the Belgian schools; but the instruction that is given in them is based on the supposed eternal necessity for a division of rich and poor" (p. 35). . . . "We shall be asked, What are we to do if we cannot rely on the aid of the State, of parliament, or municipalities? We must appeal to those whose interest it is to bring about a reform; to the workers, in the first place" (p. 36). In 1908, Ferrer wrote: "Rulers have always taken care to control the education of the people; they know better than any that their power is based entirely on the schools, and they therefore insist on maintaining their monopoly."

Many other passages might be quoted to show how Ferrer had grasped the elements of the Proletcultural idea, and wished to apply it in the education of the young. In his epilogue on p. 110 McCabe writes: "All that can be questioned is the teaching of an explicit social creed to children. Ferrer would have rejoined that there was not a school in Europe that does not teach an explicit social creed."

THE FRENCH SYNDICALISTS

More definite formulation of Proletcult is found in the writings of the French syndicalists, and notably in the works of Edouard Berth, Fernand Pelloutier, and Hubert Lagardelle. This development was more significant than that of Ferrer's Modern School, for it occurred in a country of higher capitalist development than Spain, and in minds dominated by the notion that the mass action of organised labour was destined to be of supreme importance in bringing about the social revolution. We do not wish to under-rate the significance of anarchist contributions to the revolutionary movement. But there will have to be considerable periods of Proletcult both prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary before most of the anarchist tenets can become "practical politics."

Berth, in his *Dialogues Socialistes* (1901), makes the socialist interlocutor Darville criticise the "Popular Universities"—French counterparts of W.E.A. and University Extension activities, now practically extinct. What is wrong with them, says Darville, is that they aim at promoting social peace and class collaboration, whereas what is essential to working-class progress is education in the class struggle (p. 2, et seq.). Each class has its own psychology and its own morality. These are mainly determined by economic conditions. The unity of the "people" is a figment (pp. 27/8). Essentially, the socialist movement is a movement of proletarian education, of social pedagogy (p. 36).

Lagardelle voices a more explicit demand for Independent Working-Class Education in "Le

Mouvement Socialiste" for October, 1906 (article reprinted as "The School and the Proletariat" in a volume published in 1911, entitled "Le Socialisme Ouvrier," pp. 127/31). Lagardelle, too, is criticising the Popular Universities. Their aim is "to corrupt the popular mind" by educational influences emanating from the capitalist State. It is absolutely essential, he contends, that the proletariat should cultivate its own ideology.

Enough of these foreshadowings of the theory of Proletcult. In Spain, for the last decade, the reaction has been so firmly enthroned that little progress seems to have been made along the lines sketched by Ferrer, though doubtless in Catalonia and other regions of advanced industrial development the historic processes will ere long assume the same forms as elsewhere. In France, we learn, the Communist Party is about to cooperate with the left wing of organised labour to engage in educational activities wherein British experience may prove a useful guide. Let us turn to the United States, where theory and practice have been working hand in hand quite as long as in Great Britain.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAS

The Rand School of Social Science in New York City was the pioneer institution of its kind in the States. It is described as "an autonomously organised educational auxiliary to the socialist and labour movement of the U.S." It was founded in the year 1906, and, like Ruskin College, was the outcome of private initiative. The original endowments have been withdrawn. At the present

time nearly half the cost of maintenance is supplied by tuition fees; literature sales help the finances; the balance of many thousands of dollars a year has to be raised by contributions. The chief courses are in the social sciences—history, political science, and economics. Great attention is devoted to English and to public speaking. The former of these two subjects demands especial care, in view of the polyglot sources of the stream of American immigration; a common tongue is essential to a common culture, be that culture bourgeois or proletarian. The programme of the Rand School is less explicitly class conscious and class war in its tone than that of the British Labour Colleges. It must be remembered that in the U.S. the left wing of the industrial and political movement has been driven underground by the forces of capitalist reaction. The independent labour educationists have to walk warily. But the Rand School has been the subject of hostile attention from "patriotic" mobs and from the powers-that-be, and it is a more advanced body than is superficially apparent. The students attending its classes now number about 5,000 annually.

In 1911 a Modern School was founded in New York City in commemoration of Francisco Ferrer—beginning with one pupil and one teacher. It is conducted on Ferrer's educational principles. In 1916 it was transferred to Stelton, New Jersey. This is for child education, a boarding-school for libertarian training. It has its place in the present volume inasmuch as it is a self-governing school for proletarian children, is under proletarian control, and is imbued with the proletarian spirit.

At the same time it is extraordinarily advanced in its pedagogic methods, the education being guided by the discoveries of the New Psychology. It is co-educational and combines manual with mental training. It publishes a monthly magazine, "The Modern School," which is now printed by the pupils. We doubt whether a finer example of a Proletcultural school can be found even in Soviet Russia.

During the last few years, all over the States, educational movements have been arising under the direct impulsion of organised labour. One of the first of these originated in 1914 in connection with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which runs a Workers' University in New York City and is also in close touch with the Rand School. This union organised educational classes for all its members during a recent strike. The unions of the clothing industry are industrial in structure. They are largely dominated by the Jewish mind, which is alert, eager for information, open to new ideas. The progress in these branches of industry is illustrative both of the causes and the effects of adult education on the workers. In 1918, there was formed in New York a United Labour Education Committee, to which more than 30 unions are affiliated. This body conducts classes in economics, industrial history, correction of accent (see above!), socialism, etc. It cooperates with the Rand School, and has practically divorced its activities from the public school system. That is to say, it is out for Independent Working-Class Education. Its classes are held in union headquarters. It accepts no contributions

from individuals, nor from any but labour organisations.

For lack of space, a still briefer survey is all that can be taken of post-war developments in other states of the American Union. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labour has since May, 1920, had its own "Department of Education." (The American revolutionary will is prone to find expression in somewhat grandiloquent titles!) Its labour colleges and classes are strictly under union control, but its "instructors are recruited from the more liberal and sympathetic local university professors." This has a somewhat W.E.A.-ish flavour. But, as with the Tutorial Classes in Britain, the influence of the new spirit is strong. The two-hour class consists not only of lectures from on high, but of disquisitions by the students, with "quiz and discussion." And it is satisfactory to learn that whereas at first the classes mostly met in the State schoolrooms, the use of these rooms has of late "been refused by the different school boards, although not a single charge was ever brought against any of the students, instructors, etc."

The Chicago Classes of the joint committee of the Chicago Federation of Labour and the Women's Trade Union League of Chicago are run in cooperation with the State Board of Education and must presumably be of a Pink complexion. Boston, on the other hand, though it is the fount of highbrow "culture" in the States, is more advanced than the industrial metropolis of Illinois. The Trade Union College under the auspices of the Boston Central Labour Union was organised

immediately after the war "to prepare the workers of New England for the rôle of increasing importance which labour is to play in the new social order. . . . . No financial help from the State Board of Education, from University Extension, or from rich benefactors, has been accepted, although it has more than once been tentatively offered." The college is open to all wage workers, whether affiliated to the American Federation of Labour or not.

A few additional quotations must suffice to indicate how widespread, and on the whole how sound in direction, is the movement for Independent Working-Class Education in the U.S. The Cooperative Movement conducts three schools in New York, and these schools publish a monthly journal "Cooperative Education." Another periodical, "Cooperation," writes of the schools: "These pioneer student bodies are doing the most radical thing which has been done in education since the free public school was established." (One gathers that in America, as in Britain, the cooperative movement, though cooperator conscious, is not as yet fully class conscious).

The Workers' College of Seattle, founded in 1919, is housed in "The Labour Temple." At first it was unduly influenced by the State University, from which the teachers were drawn. "In the case of one or two of the professors this teaching and influence were offensive to the workers." The College now runs its own show, and it sums up in the following terms its conception of labour education: "Education in our universities and colleges is essentially capitalistic, in that it glori-

fies competition and seeks to produce an efficient individual. Education that may be properly called labour education is essentially socialistic, in that it glorifies cooperation and seeks to produce an efficient industrial and social order." (From Bourgeoiscult to Proletcult, in fact!). At the 1920 Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labour, the Executive reported: "On certain controversial subjects, such as labour history, co-operative and governmental enterprises, it may be found necessary, even desirable, that unionists should organise their own classes and employ teachers whom they can trust to give them facts."

Enough! The ferment of revolutionary education is at work throughout the American Union. From the British colonies we have, so far, less encouraging information. The social solidarians have taken time by the forelock. Albert Mansbridge made a world tour in 1913 and was instrumental in establishing W.E.A. branches in various parts of Australia and Canada. But there are gleams of light from these darker regions of the world. A Labour College and Proletcult Group, adopting the Plebs League constitution, statement of aims, etc., a spontaneous growth of the vital impetus of creative revolution, has lately come to life in Ontario. Groups of left-wing socialists in Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, run classes which are in touch with the Plebs League. The Australian railwaymen have issued a special edition of W. W. Craik's *Short History of the Modern Working-Class Movement*, referring to it in their preface as "the admirable textbook by the Principal of the Labour College."

No more than scrappy information can be given regarding Proletcult in the vast areas of Spanish America. The two countries where capitalist development and proletarianisation are most advanced, Mexico and Argentina, are the seats of extensive proletarian educational activities. In Mexico, which as a whole is moving in a socialist direction, there is a Labour College in Mexico City, supported by the Federation of Syndicates (i.e. Trade Unions). It aims at the establishment of schools for workers throughout the country, "thus laying the foundation of scientific working-class education in Mexico." But it does not appear that this is class-conscious education.

In Argentina the Socialist Party is reformist, and has refused to affiliate to the Third International. The Party is extremely active in the educational field, but its views on education are nowise revolutionary. It cooperates with an educational body called the Sociedad Luz [Light], founded in 1899, whose ideas resemble those of the W.E.A. But there are two distinctive features of all this working-class instruction in Argentina: it is strongly anti-clerical and rationalist; and an anti-alcohol campaign is a perennial activity. By the rules of the Socialist Party every branch must have a branch library, and must keep it up-to-date. There are about two hundred such libraries. In Buenos-Ayres there is an extensive Workers' Library which receives trade-union support. Unfortunately we have no information as to Proletcultural work on the part of the left-wing organisation which was until recently known as the International Socialist Party of the Argentine

Republic, but which has now become the Argentine Section of the Communist International.

GERMANY : 1. THEORY

This book is mainly concerned with Proletcult in Britain. The postrevolutionary Proletcult of Russia will be the theme of a special chapter. In another chapter, where the educational work of the Young Communist movement will be discussed, the activities of various groups of foreign comrades will receive attention. For the rest, in this sketch of a sketch—there is no space for more—of the ferment of the world revolution, the only other country which can be considered in any detail is Germany. German theory and German practice of Proletcult deserve the closest study. With characteristic Teutonic thoroughness those among the German communists who have recognized the fundamental importance of Independent Working-Class Education are applying themselves to the discovery of the right principles of application.

Some of them have been in close touch with Moscow and Petrograd since the first All-Russian Proletcult Congress was held in the autumn of 1918. Recognising from the start the differences between Proletcult in its prerevolutionary and its postrevolutionary phase, they have founded an "Initiative Committee" for the working out of Proletcultural problems in a land that has just achieved a spurious revolution. The ideas of this committee may be summarised as follows.

1. Owing to the increasing intensity of the class struggle in Germany, the forces of the proletariat must be mobilised in every possible way. Thus

only can the workers make headway against the counter-revolution. 2. Press, school, cinema, church, and literature, all the so-called cultural institutions, are weapons in the bourgeois arsenal, and are used by the bourgeoisie to paralyse the revolutionary impetus of the toilers. Consequently, bourgeois ideology is dominant, even among the ranks of the organised workers. 3. The proletariat must use the same weapons against the bourgeoisie, must array a front of proletarian culture against the forces of bourgeois culture. The day of the victory of the workers will draw nearer in proportion as the masses become ideologically independent of the sinister mental influences of capitalism. 4. For the conquest of power, the workers must make themselves acquainted, from their own specific outlook, with all the problems of industrial and political life. Otherwise, the bourgeois intellectuals will be able to sabotage the revolution in innumerable ways. For the right use of power, preparatory educational work is essential. 5. The social revolution does not merely imply a new method in economics, a soviet system, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It involves in addition the establishment of a new culture, proletarian by origin, and subsequently the first universal culture of mankind. The beginnings of this culture are already manifest. It will revolutionise education, ethics, the press, art and science, the whole of public and private life. The immediate task of the proletariat, as the initiator of this new culture, is to assemble its creative energies for the unification and diffusion of Proletcult. 6. Germany needs a centralised

Proletcultural League, supported by the organised workers, collaborating with and unifying the activities of all the bodies engaged in promoting Independent Working-Class Education. A Conference must be summoned as soon as possible to draw up a joint programme of Proletcult.

GERMANY : 2, PRACTICE

We are by no means enamoured of the proverbial wisdom contained in the adage, An ounce of practice is worth a pound of theory. It is because the theories of the Plebs League and the philosophy of the Labour Colleges are right that their practice "gets there" every time. It is because the theory of the W.E.A. and the philosophy of the Tutorial Classes are wrong that the tendency of these organisations is to fill the bellies of the workers with east wind. But the Germans are skilful practitioners as well as sound theorists. In Berlin there is a body called the Rätebund or Soviet League, which runs a publishing house of its own. Its main activities, however, are educational. It has Räteschulen or Soviet Schools based upon occupational groups; and it issues a number of Rätelehrbücher or Soviet Textbooks. From one of these, Fritz Fricke's *Die Rätebildung im Klassenkampf der Gegenwart* (Soviet Culture in the Class Struggle To-day), a clear idea can be formed of the principles and methods of the organisation. The preface, written in October, 1920, would form an excellent Proletcult leaflet for any land of advanced capitalistic development, and would be especially suitable for distribution in Adult Schools and W.E.A. Tutorial Classes. "Members of the

bourgeois parties, bourgeois educationists, present themselves in the form of educational pimps, firmly convinced that a stew compounded of all the ingredients of bourgeois culture is precisely what the workers need. . . . But proletarian cultural institutions must no longer aim at stuffing the minds of the workers with a vague 'general knowledge.' The knowledge requisite is that which will enable the workers to realise communism. . . . Everything must be presented in the perspective of the class struggle. . . . Soviet Schools, therefore, have a very different task from that which has hitherto been performed by such bodies as the Adult Schools. . . . In these hard days we must turn out, not proletarian polymaths but proletarian warriors."

In the body of the book, the aims of this Soviet Culture are summarised as follows: (1) training of the workers for the unwearied occupation of all positions of power open to them within the capitalist system, or which they can conquer for themselves within that system; (2) training of the workers with an eye to their responsibilities for the tasks of production and administration they will have to perform in the new social order; (3) the development of a proletarian intelligentsia, not to form a favoured labour caste, but to consist of a selection of especially competent workers, who will concentrate upon the effective waging of the class war. After the revolution the members of this proletarian intelligentsia will be able to devote themselves to the work of stabilising the gains of the revolution.

It is not necessary to give details concerning

subjects of study and methods of instruction in the Soviet Schools. London could learn from Berlin, and Berlin from London; but, substantially, kindred minds faced by the same problems are working out the same solutions in Britain and in Germany. There, as here, the worst foes are perhaps those who claim to be of our own household, those who want to "do good" to the workers by showering upon them the gifts of an "impartial" culture. Such a culture, permeated with bourgeois ideology, would appear to be given by most of the Popular High Schools which have come into existence all over Germany since the revolution. "Doubtless," writes Fricke in conclusion, "there is requisite a general elevation of the cultural level of the working class. But such elevation must be sharply differentiated from the culture that bears a bourgeois complexion. It is only possible to achieve this through the accommodation of all our cultural endeavours to the requirements of the class struggle."

CHAPTER SEVEN

PROLETCULT IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

One of the chief tasks of the educator is to safeguard the child from noxious suggestions. To preserve it from all suggestions is quite impossible. Suggestion is normal and necessary. Education as a whole is nothing but the application of suggestion.—CHARLES BAUDOUIN. (Tolstoï Educateur, p. 168.)

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

THE Young Socialist movement is an organised attempt to counteract the noxious suggestions of capitalist schools and the capitalist environment by suggestions of a converse trend. In a pamphlet published in 1918 (*Independent Working-Class Education*), the present writers outlined an educational policy for the workers which was to take the form of "contracting out" of State education. Let the great industrial unions take over the whole function of forming the minds of the children of their members, borrowing boldly for this purpose and turning to their own account the latest achievements of the educational science which had been worked out under the existing order, and which the master class, a prey to routinism, was so slow to adopt. Let the workers institute their own infant schools on Montessori lines, establish New

Schools for libertarian education, and with the aid of the Young Socialist movement continue the application of socialist or communist influences after the ordinary school age had been outgrown. Such an experiment in Independent Education was begun in Spain by the ill-fated Ferrer. A Ferrer Modern School similar to the one in New Jersey, U.S.A., is being opened in London as we write. Such experiments in Independent Education have recently been made in Austria by the Friends of Children and by the Proletarian School Community. In Russia, the communist State is able to educate the whole nation for communism. Should the revolutionary crisis be long delayed in western lands, some such policy as we outlined may yet have to be adopted on a large scale. But meanwhile we have to consider what is actually being done to counteract the noxious educational suggestions of a capitalist environment and of bourgeois State education. In this country there is a considerable and growing movement for the establishment of part-time schools in which, during and shortly after school age, the socialist or communist mentality may be instilled into the children of the workers.

THE SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL AND THE PROLETARIAN SCHOOL

Socialist Sunday Schools were among the first definitely organised attempts to counteract the influence of capitalist State education. The pioneer S.S.S. in Britain was opened by Mary Gray in Battersea during the year 1892. Two years later, Tom Anderson started a Socialist Sunday School

in Glasgow. The Socialist Sunday School movement in the U.S. was certainly contemporaneous with, if not anterior to this. Berenberg, writing in May, 1920, refers to the Americans as having been at work on these lines for "at least thirty years." On both sides of the Atlantic, such schools date from the nineties.

At present in Britain the S.S.S. movement is in the hands of the social solidarians and not in those of such men as Islwyn Nicholas and Tom Anderson, exponents of the class war and of proletarian philosophy. "Undenominational religious" influences are even more conspicuously at work in the S.S.S. than in the Adult School movement. Great play is made with abstractions which are as much beyond the grasp of the childish intelligence as are the nature of the Trinity, the differential calculus, or the materialist conception of history. The subtitle of "The Young Socialist" is "A Magazine of Justice and Love." In the last number to be issued before Christmas, 1920, we read an appeal on behalf of justice for every one, "not justice for this class or that class only, but justice for all classes." An excellent sentiment—when we have done away with the fundamental injustice involved in the very existence of a class that lives by ownership. In the classless State, it will be superfluous; in the class State the demand for it confuses the issues of the class struggle. The champions of the S.S.S. movement are sincere in their desire to undo, be it by ever so little, the harm done by the capitalist and imperialist atmosphere of the State schools. But their own ideology is petty bourgeois; and it is not altogether

surprising that, as they complain, their activities should be cold-shouldered by the adult workers' movement. Revolutionary communists, at any rate, who study the S.S.S. literature, cannot escape a feeling of impatience at so much talk of love and good wishes. They angrily exclaim (with John S. Clarke in "The Awakened Bear, a Bolshevik Ballad"):

The warfare of the classes isn't honey or molasses,
And you'll need a sharper weapon than a kiss.

What, then, are we to do in the case of children? Are we, when we can get hold of some of them for an hour or two once a week, to indoctrinate them with the class war, to teach them to patter the shibboleths of Marxist socialism? Ferrer, in the work already quoted, wrote sagely upon this point: "I venture to say quite plainly: the oppressed and exploited have a right to rebel, because they have to reclaim their rights until they enjoy their full share in the common patrimony. The Modern School, however has to deal with children, whom it prepares by instruction for the state of manhood, and it must not anticipate the cravings and the hatreds, the adhesions and rebellions, which may be fitting sentiments in the adult. . . . Let it teach the children to be men; when they are men, they may declare themselves rebels against injustice."

It will be much easier for children, when they are grown up, to declare themselves rebels against injustice, if they have been trained in such an institution as the Modern School. At the Fifth Annual Convention of the Modern School Associa-

tion of North America, when the relation of the Association to labour organisations was being considered, one of the speakers pointed out that in the usual system of State education the first process of poisoning the mind of the individual begins at a very early age; and that by the time the child has spent four or five years at the ordinary school it is ready to accept the lies of the capitalist press, pulpit, theatre, art, and every form of publicity which has for its aim the maintenance of the present system of inequality. But the poison cannot be counteracted by premature indoctrination with the class war, any more than by glib phrases concerning justice and love. Young folk are quite uninterested in these high-sounding abstractions. At the Stelton school there was a magazine for the children entitled "The Path of Joy." But in accordance with the principle of libertarian education, the editorship and printing of this periodical have recently been entrusted to the pupils. They have renamed it "Us Kids"!

Critics of the S.S.S. movement in the States tell us that it has undertaken an almost impossible pedagogical task; and that "these enthusiasts ultimately succumb to lack of information in pedagogy and psychology." And yet, pending the revolution, if the proletariat cannot "contract out" of State education in the way suggested at the beginning of this chapter, something must be done for the children of the workers on the S.S.S. lines, but without the "S.S.S. spirit"—which is but a juvenile form of the W.E.A. spirit! The Proletarian School for Children and Grown-Ups, founded in 1918, is an excellent counterblast to the

hazy sentimentalism of the S.S.S. Tom Anderson's activities in this field have attracted the unfavourable attention of the "Spectator" and the British Empire Union, which is sufficient to show that in many respects they must be well directed! The movement has a good hold in Scotland and Wales, and is making its way in the Midlands and the South. But the psychology of "Red Dawn," the monthly organ of the Proletarian School, is the psychology of the young adult, and not the psychology of the child. Proletcult for the young must be more ready than Bourgeoiscult for the young has yet proved, to avail itself of the latest advances in educational science. From educationists of the type of Adolphe Ferrière, for instance, from his *Revolutionise the School* (1920) and his many other writings, and from such books as Faria's *A New School in Belgium*, they must learn to apply, not merely the great principle of libertarian education, but the principle of making the proper appeal to the child's interests as these develop at successive ages. They must not in children from 7 to 12, when the interests are direct, specialised, and concrete, endeavour to present the simple abstract interests proper to children of from 13 to 15, or the complex abstract interests proper to young people of from 16 to 18. In a word, they must not "teach" young children abstract communism and the class war, any more than they should "teach" them the abstract inanities of the Athanasian creed. To *live* communism is another matter. But that privilege is at present reserved for the happy children of Soviet Russia.

The first requisite for the young educational movement in this country is to link it up with other organisations for left-wing education, such as the Plebs League and the various local councils for Independent Working-Class Education. The Labour Colleges can also be interested in the work, and ere long will be in a position to supply teachers grounded in the New Psychology and the newer educational methods. The next step, or a simultaneous step, must be to link up more effectively with some of our continental comrades who are undertaking the communist education of workers' children by sounder methods than have as yet been applied in Britain. The more advanced state of continental psychology in the field of educational practice can be learned from the opening numbers of "Der Junge Genosse" (the Young Comrade), a bi-monthly which is now reaching us from Berlin, and from articles in "Die Junge Schweiz" (Young Switzerland), the organ of the Swiss Students. Though Switzerland is a bourgeois republic, a capitalist State, it must be remembered that the Swiss students are among the most revolutionary in the world, and that Switzerland is the pioneer country in the science of education. The Proletarian Schools of Britain could learn much from the Proletarische Schulgemeinde (Proletarian School Community) of Vienna.

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST YOUTH

This topic deserves a volume to itself. Historically the Young Socialist movement on the continent is closely associated with the gradual emergence of the Proletcultural idea. In con-

scriptionist countries, notably in Belgium, the Young movement tended at the outset to assume a predominantly anti-militarist form; but it was essentially educational as well, an attempt to produce a steadfast socialist mentality in lads before they were seized by the capitalist military machine. If events move slowly, it will undoubtedly be important to institute some such comprehensive scheme of educational propaganda. The difficulties of direct communist propaganda among the military and naval forces of the bourgeois State are well-nigh insuperable. But the permeation of these forces with nuclei of convinced communists able to act inconspicuously as centres of revolutionary education and influence, cannot fail to have a good effect.

Actually at the present time the Young movement takes three different forms: that of Pink organisations under the direction of the social democratic parties which hold aloof from the Third International; that of Red organisations imbued with the spirit of the Third International; and that of socialist and communist students and ex-students at the universities. The two former are proletarian in status, although from the outlook of this volume only the Communist Youth is distinctively Proletcultural in trend. The members of the students' groups are bourgeois and semi-bourgeois in status, but are refreshingly revolutionary in their ideology. It is noteworthy that even in Britain, the University Socialist Federation, though "socialist" in name, grows ever more clearly "communist" in outlook. It "is founded on the basis of the class war, to which all its

members are committed. It seeks to train its members to assist and take part in the proletarian movement." (This statement was issued to the Congress of Socialist and Communist Students held at Geneva in December, 1919. The aim of the British U.S.F. delegates in issuing it was expressly to dissociate themselves from the German Majority Socialists at the Congress). At present, Social Democrats and Communists remain grouped in a single Students' International. But the position is becoming untenable. A year ago, reporting to the U.S.F. on the Geneva Congress, the British delegates declared that "those who maintain the orthodox socialist position [i.e., the principles of the old social democracy on the continent, and those of the socialist members of the Parliamentary Labour Party in this country] are rapidly becoming identified with the reactionary elements inside the socialist movement."

In Britain, there is no clear-cut Young Socialist or Young Communist movement. The activities, and in especial the educational activities, undertaken by such bodies in continental Europe, are performed by organisations like the Proletarian School, the Young Socialist League, and the Plebs League. Time will show whether there is permanent need for distinctive "Young" organisations in each of the three chief fields of communist activity; the industrial, the political, and the educational. Here in Britain the Young Socialist League and the Young Labour League have just decided to amalgamate as the Young Workers' League affiliated to the Young Communist International. Anything is good which tends to pre-

vent the dispersal of revolutionary energy; but an attempt to "unite" hopelessly conflicting trends can only retard progress. Our own view favours the idea of three distinctive Red Internationals: the Third International coordinating the political communist movement; the Red Trade-Union International for the industrial movement; and a Red International for revolutionary education or Proletcult. Each of these could have its "Young" section. But the younger members of the movements have a vigorous and commendable desire for independence of the tutelage of their seniors.

At Berlin, in the end of November, 1919, there was held a Congress of the International of Youth. The Congress aimed at the unification of the Red side of the Young movement under the aegis of the Third International. It established the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, which issues a tri-monthly periodical in English, French, and German, the "Correspondence of the Young International"; and a monthly in German, Russian, Swedish, and Italian "The Young International." A full account of the Berlin Congress, and much additional information concerning the Young movement generally, will be found in Nos. 11 and 12 of the "Communist International."

CHAPTER EIGHT

PROLETCULT IN RUSSIA

Education in Russia to-day is one form of the class struggle.—WILLIAM MELLOR. (Direct Action, p. 127.)

LUNACHARSKY, ULIANOVA, AND POLIANSKY

LUNACHARSKY is Commissar for Education in Soviet Russia. He has expounded his theory of Proletcult in an essay entitled *The Cultural Tasks of the Working Class: Universal Culture and Class Culture.* This was published in Russia in 1918, and a German translation was issued in Berlin immediately after the armistice. An abridged translation, "Working-Class Culture," appeared in the "Plebs Magazine" for October and November, 1920. For Lunacharsky, proletarian culture is but the first stage. He is himself a humanist rather than a proletarian. "Humanity is marching irresistibly towards the internationalisation of culture." But we are still in the stage of national cultures and class cultures. Russia as a nation and the proletariat as a class have a supremely important part to play in the elaboration of what will ultimately become a universal culture. Primitive culture was universal. The culture of the classless world of the future will be universal. All

the intermediate phases of culture have been the apanage of class, and proletarian culture can be no exception to the rule. Moreover, the proletarian must build upon the past. He must not, in his haste say, "To the devil with all bourgeois culture." He must not destroy the old temple in order to build up a perfectly new one.

Thus universalist in his outlook, Lunacharsky is not an enthusiast for the fighting culture which we have termed prerevolutionary Proletcult. He recognises the need for this "highly specialised class culture, fashioned in conflict." But he is glad that his own lot is cast in postrevolutionary Russia, where he can consecrate his energies to the task of building the educational New Jerusalem, while Lenin makes moves upon the diplomatic chessboard, and Trotsky with the Red Army guards the frontiers against the hordes of capitalist Europe and repels the onslaughts of the counter-revolution. We do not mean to imply that Lunacharsky could not show fight. None of the bolshevist leaders, none of the bolshevist rank and file, are pacifists, for pacifism is premature at this stage of the world's history. We conceive that Lunacharsky, like Archimedes during the siege of Syracuse, might have been willing to devote his powers to the designing of engines of war; but we conceive also that in the sack of the city he would, like Archimedes, have lost his life in a fit of absence of mind, exclaiming to one of the invading Kolchakists, "Don't disturb my circles!" Nevertheless, the writer of the preface to the German edition of the above-quoted essay describes him as "one of the greatest intellectual forces alive in the

world to-day." Pokroffsky, his second in command, professor of history under the old regime, is perhaps the most active organiser of the new education in Russia.

Ulianova (Lenin's wife) is one of Lunacharsky's most enthusiastic collaborators. Her views are summarised in the thesis she presented to the first All-Russian Proletcult Conference. At that time the bolsheviks, despite their disappointment the previous autumn, still believed the European revolution to be imminent. We trust it is. Perchance Europe does indeed "stand on the eve of the social revolution," though the mills of fate are grinding somewhat more slowly than many of us hoped in the last year of the war. Russia, at any rate, must prepare for either eventuality; for the temporary restabilisation of western capitalism, or for the conditions that will result from its final destruction. In Russia "children must be educated for the conditions under which they have to live. The rising generation will have to live in a socialist society, and consequently needs a socialist education, a socialistic school." The overthrow of the exploiting class, the unification of social life in Russia, has rendered it possible to institute a unified system of schooling, to throw knowledge open to all, to develop to the uttermost the mental and physical capabilities of every Russian child. By socialist education it will be possible to realise Engels' description of socialism as "a leap from the realm of coercion to the realm of freedom." These principles of educational enfranchisement are now being practically realised in Soviet Russia.

Poliansky is the responsible director of advanced education in Soviet Russia. His account of Proletcult as a definite educational organisation with a membership of over 300,000, will be found in "The Plebs" for January, 1921. But for his conception of Proletcult as a theory and a method we turn by preference to his thesis presented to the Proletcult Conference, and reproduced in the October, 1920, issue of the German monthly "Sowjet." Much more explicitly than Lunacharsky or Ulianova, Poliansky expounds Proletcult on Marxist lines. "The masses have been infected with petty bourgeois and anarchistic sentiments; their minds have been poisoned with capitalistic bourgeois culture. The only antidote to this poison is an independent and strictly working-class culture. . . . Cultural independence for the proletariat must be our watchword. . . . Whereas formerly the labour movement has developed in the political and economic struggle, a third form of struggle, that of revolutionary education, has now become essential. This must be no less independent than the other two." Poliansky shows, as we ourselves indicated on pp. 26-7, how feudalism had its own class culture and philosophy, which was religious and authoritarian; and how the French Revolution was based upon a new ideology, that of the individualist philosophers of the rising bourgeois class. The rise of socialism will be signalised by the growth of yet another culture, the socialist culture of the proletariat. The work of the new enlightenment has two provinces; one simply instructive, the other creative and revolutionary. In Russia, where there has been so little

"popular education" even of the capitalist kind, the work of elementary instruction is a titanic task. But important as this is, it pales in significance when compared with the work of creative revolution, with the development of the new proletarian ideology in art, ethics, and science. The Russian proletariat has to create its own culture, which will be sharply distinguished from the culture of capitalistic countries. "The material victory over the bourgeoisie must be followed up by a spiritual victory." More than two years ago, in an article published by "Le Populaire" (Jan. 20, 1919), Maxim Gorky declared that the creative cultural work of the Russian government had begun to leap forward in a way unprecedented in human history. Its magnificence, he said, would not fail to arouse the admiration of future historians.

BOGDANOFF

The most uncompromising, and unquestionably the most interesting, among the Russian theorists of Proletcult is Bogdanoff. We have not had the advantage of consulting the Russian original of his essay on *Science and the Working Class*, but an excellent German translation was published last year in Berlin. This pamphlet, to quote the translator's introduction, proclaims "the certain truth that proletarian philosophy will bring salvation to mankind."

Bogdanoff opens with a definition of science. It is the organised experience of the human working fellowship. Science, he holds, originated in the practical needs of the working life, as a weapon

in the struggle for existence. Astronomy, for example, was indispensable to the early agriculturists, to enable them to regulate their seasonal occupations. Only at a later stage, when civilisation had assumed the forms of class differentiation which still persist to-day, was this science withdrawn from the common folk to become the privilege of a priestly caste, which used it as a means for maintaining itself in power. Since unremitting toil is the lot of the lower class, while leisure is an exclusive advantage of the upper class, these conditions of class segregation, in conjunction with the artificial complications of much "upper-class" science, resulted in transforming all the sciences from means for the organisation of labour into means for perpetuating class rule. Even philosophy, most abstract of the sciences, has been subject to the same law of development.

But if the old science is an instrument of upper-class dominion, the proletariat must counteract this influence with its own science, as a means for the revolutionary struggle. It must do this, says Bogdanoff, not merely after the social revolution, but before the revolution, and in order to effect the overthrow of the old order. It cannot simply adopt bourgeois science, which often exercises a corrupting and stultifying influence, and which in any case darkens counsel by its needless complexity. The proletariat requires a proletarian science. "I mean, a science formulated, understood, and expounded from the working-class outlook; a science competent to enable the working class to realise its own aims; a science which organises forces for the victory of communion."

But is there really such a thing as "proletarian science"? Is not culture universal? Far from it, answers Bogdanoff. In a class society, science is determined by the class outlook. A typical instance is economics. There are two sciences of economics. Orthodox and professorial economics is the economics of the master class. This was preeminently "economic science"; until Marx came along and wrote a new economics, proletarian economics, the science as envisaged from the standpoint of the producers instead of from that of the exploiters. And behold, from the new outlook of proletarian science, much that had been obscure was made plain to the understanding of the common man and woman. The change was as fundamental as that which had been worked in astronomy three and a half centuries before by Copernicus. Earlier astronomers, studying the movements of the planets from the outlook of the Earth, and desiring to explain the erratic character of the observed motions, had been compelled to invent systems of extraordinary complexity "cycle on epicycle, orb in orb." Copernicus, transferring himself in imagination from the Earth as centre of the moving system to the Sun as centre, substituting the heliocentric theory for the geocentric theory, effected an amazing simplification. No less vital was the change, no less astounding was the simplification, effected by Marx in substituting the economic outlook of the producer for that of the exploiter, the economic outlook of the proletarian for that of the capitalist. The change applied even to the self-evident. For what can seem more self-evident to the capitalist than that he supports

the worker? And what can seem more self-evident to the class-conscious worker, instructed in the elements of Marxist economics, than that he supports the capitalist? Now Marx, having recognised that the economic outlook was fundamentally different according to the social class from which the phenomena were viewed, went further, and made a great generalisation. The fundamental difference did not concern economics alone. The historic mission of the proletariat was to effect a transformation in all human outlooks, a transformation based upon the class consciousness of the workers. Where it behoves us to build upon the ideological foundation laid by Marx is, that we must deliberately further this revolutionary transformation of science. Such is the function of Proletcult.

Communism, continues Bogdanoff, is sharply opposed to the anarchy which to a large extent has hitherto prevailed in bourgeois science and philosophy. It must be based upon the methodical organisation of the communist world-society. "Communism cannot be realised in any single country. . . . It must embrace, if not the whole world, at least a number of federated countries able to form a self-dependent whole and able to present a united front against the rest of the world. . . . This new society must be culturally adequate to its tasks, and must possess a unified ideology. If its individual parts differ one from another in ideals and wishes as extensively as a workman, a middle-class intellectual, and a peasant differ from one another to-day, they will be as little able to unite for purposive communal

organisation, as workmen speaking different tongues can cooperate in the building of a house. . . . The proletariat is the heir of all classes in history; it is the direct source of organising work; it is the inheritor of the accumulated experience of the ages. The historic mission of the proletariat is to coordinate this heritage in the form of an all-embracing science. Upon the foundation of this all-embracing proletarian culture, and upon this alone, will the workers be able to realise their ideals."

PROLETARIAN ETHICS

Even in this outline sketch it would be pusillanimous to shirk two of the most perplexing and contentious fields of proletarian culture. We refer to proletarian ethics and proletarian art. Each requires a textbook to itself, and yet each must here be dismissed in two or three paragraphs. We cannot pretend to decide which is the more thorny of the two, for both bristle with difficulties. At random, therefore, we take the first plunge into the thicket of proletarian ethics.

To Marxist students it is a commonplace that one of the primary essentials of Independent Working-Class Education is that "bourgeois morality" must be confronted by "proletarian morality." Does this mean that all the morality, all the ethic, all the customs (substantially, to a realist, the three words mean the same thing in practice no less than derivatively), of what is termed "civilized life" must go by the board? By no means. Much of what is known as civilised morality, much of the ethic or custom which has

been associated with the growth of capitalist civilisation, is truly universal. It is part of the vesture of good habit, which distinguishes the civilised bourgeois or proletarian from the savage, and will distinguish the civilised communist of the future from the man of the stone age though it will assimilate him to the bourgeois of the opening twentieth century. The "common form" of civilised life has been a slow acquirement; it often vanishes like smoke under the touch of decivilising stresses, whether of war or of what passes by the name of "social peace"; it requires much extension and consolidation with the aid of improved educational methods and in the light of the new psychology. But these habits which make us refrain from clubbing a stranger who accidentally treads on our toes or from running a man through with a rapier because we dislike the cut of his beard, which enable us to check any impulse to spit on the floor even when we know we are free from tubercular disease, which make us respect the sacred distinction between mine and thine as regards small articles of personal possession—are not what we mean by bourgeois morality. One of the most distinctive canons of bourgeois morality, and the one which is most emphatically challenged by proletarian morality, is the sanctity of all that the bourgeois preeminently terms "property." The bourgeois lumps under that name exploiting and non-exploiting property. The land that he "owns" and the shares which bring him dividends, are just as sacrosanct in his eyes as the shirt that he wears or the loose change in his pocket. For him the proverb, "near is my shirt, but nearer is

my skin" has become "near is my shirt, but nearer is my title to exploit my fellow mortal." To proletarian morality, titles to exploitation, the way-leaves of the duke of Northumberland, the ground-rents of my lord of Bedford, the railway shares of John Smith, Esquire, and the Tsarist Russian loan-bonds in the hands of western investors, are worth the paper they are written on, no more and no less. At the first chance that offers, the proletarian will confiscate the lot with a robust bolshevik conscience, and will sleep the sounder for having done a good deed!

Again, in matters of the sex relation, there is a fundamental difference between the bourgeois outlook and that of the class-conscious proletarian. This does not mean that the communist wishes to "communalise women"; for of all the foolish fictions that ever found credence among interested persons, assuredly one of the most foolish was that a group of revolutionaries whose whole philosophy of life involved a war on exploitation in all its forms, should inaugurate the new era by the callous exploitation of a sex. What it does mean is that the proletarian, having recognised that the bourgeois form of the sex relationship is largely based upon the dominant proprietary system and the laws of inheritance, recognises also that under communism the sex relationship will inevitably tend to assume a new form. Precisely what that form, or what those forms, will be, it is impossible to forecast. The conditions of the problem are still too elusive. But whatever they are, they will differ considerably from the bourgeois forms of more or less indissoluble marriage, with a duplex

code of sexual morality, and the brutal mutual exploitation of the sexes known as prostitution. Proletarian morality will not solve all the problems of the sexual life; but a communist order of society will have in this respect fewer difficulties to contend with than capitalism has known.

Russian experience already furnishes warrant for the belief that as regards ethical practice in general there is ample confirmation for what theory had led us to expect. As to theory, Russian thinkers are devoting themselves to the consideration of the new ethic of the proletariat. Two Russian pamphlets lie on our table as we write. One, by "N.N." is entitled *Proletarian Ethics, Proletarian Conduct from the Outlook of Realist Philosophy.* The other, by Alexandra Kollontai, discusses *The New Morality and the Working Class.* They can be mentioned only in passing. Recent studies though they are, published in 1920, they fail to deal with ethical problems from the most modern of all outlooks—that of the New Psychology. The work of Freud and the two leading schools of post-Freudians; the work of McDougall and Trotter; the work of Coué and Baudouin upon autosuggestion;—these have made all the old controversies between the absolutists and the relativists in morality, between the intuitionists and the utilitarians, between the altruists and the egoists, seem out of date. The new psychologists and the new educationists are not proletarians, but neither are they distinctively bourgeois. Their science has been tendentious, in that it has been pursued for the human interest; but it no more belongs to a social class than

Darwin's contribution to the theory of evolution belongs to a social class. Actually, the New Psychology and the New Pedagogy come as emancipators of the human spirit from the shackles of the past; and it is for the proletariat, as the heir of the ages, to turn these emancipating influences to account for the furtherance of proletarian culture. In child education, our Russian comrades are already much in advance of the contemporary bourgeois world; but it is in Britain that are manifest the first signs of awareness that the New Psychology is of fundamental importance to the revolutionary movement. One of the aims of this little volume is to help in various ways towards the international unification of Proletcult.

PROLETARIAN ART

Scant space has been left for the topic of proletarian art. Can there be such a thing as proletarian art? Is such an art possible? Or is Art, with a capital A, "universal"? The Proletcult institution was founded in Russia quite as much in the hope of fostering a distinctively proletarian art, as in the expectation of fostering a distinctively proletarian science. Bogdanoff has written a pamphlet *What is Proletarian Poetry?* and naturally plumps in favour of its possibilities. John Cournos, in four issues of "The New Europe" (a weekly which would be better entitled "The Bad Old Europe, and How can we save it from Extinction?"), October 30 to November 20, 1919, empties the vials of his scorn upon proletarian culture in theory and practice, upon bolshevik poetry and the bolshevik theatre. But,

since Cournos is himself an artist, there breathes through his admirable translations a spirit which the conscious anti-bolshevik is himself unable to understand, and which may encourage those whose proletarian outlook has led them to expect a new surge of artistic impulse in Soviet Russia. In "Volksbühne" (The People's Theatre), No. 3 of the first volume, 1920/1, Richard Seidel writes more guardedly in criticism of the very possibility of proletarian art.

This writer, like the other critics, misses the main point. It is true that in bourgeois civilisation art has been the creation, for the most part, of leisured hangers-on of the wealthier bourgeoisie. But art originated simply as a means of self-expression in the craftsman. Such was the art of the prehistoric age, as we may learn from the scant remnants that have escaped time's destroying hand. Such was the art of Japan in the feudal era. Such was the art of the cathedral builders of western Europe during an epoch of town life in which, though civilisation was a class civilisation, there had not yet arisen the profound cleavage between "ownership" and "work," between "leisure" and "toil," characteristic of highly developed capitalism. The work of the artist craftsman of the middle ages was not the product of leisure plus imagination, but of labour plus imagination. Can we not foresee, in communist society (together with a considerable generalisation of leisure as a universal privilege instead of a class privilege), a revival of that conjuncture of labour and imagination which we conceive to be the true social basis of art? And when there is

superadded the quickening and enfranchisement of the spirit that will derive from the disappearance of the numerous inward conflicts which underlie the surface of capitalist society, may we not anticipate such a blossoming of art as the world has never known? An art which will be proletarian in its origins, and which, like other forms of proletarian culture, will not improbably retain the name of "proletarian" even after it has become a universal means of delight, and a universal mode of self-expression? "The art of the future," wrote Tolstoy many years ago, "will not be a development of the art of the present: it will be founded upon other bases. It will no longer be the property of a caste."

Some such conception as this underlies the expectations of those who look eastward for the signs of the new advent. Here, in the west, where the possibilities of proletarian art still lie shrouded in the womb of the future, where in the present we have to limit our activities to the fashioning of a narrow but efficient fighting culture, we must possess our souls in patience, glad to find our means of self-expression in the only war that matters.

PROLETCULT AT WORK

What is there to say on this subject that has not been said a hundred times, in more detail than can possibly be attempted in these pages? He that has ears to hear, let him hear. Throughout the years of storm and stress, the Soviet Government, at war with capitalist Europe on the fluctuating frontiers, and at war with the counter-

revolution within its own borders, has been steadfastly engaged upon its great task of proletarian culture. It is making headway against illiteracy. The peasants, though not wholly sympathetic to the communist regime, eagerly accept the educational advantages it offers. As regards children, the very difficulties that have beset Russia, have favoured the governmental scheme of removing as many children as possible from the influence of reactionary homes. Of the twenty million children in Soviet Russia, two million are living under the roof of State institutions. There, from the merely animal point of view, they are better cared for than they can possibly be cared for at home; and parents are content that the State should act as what H. G. Wells once declared it ought to be—the Over-Parent.

Did space permit we would quote largely, not from bolshevik sources, but from two articles which H. N. Brailsford, a recent visitor, published on "Education and Art in Russia," in "The Nation" for December 24, 1920, and January 15, 1921. Brailsford, it must be remembered, saw things for himself, and his knowledge of languages made him independent of official interpreters. His testimony therefore, is of especial value. On December 24th he wrote: "The most inspiring thing in Russia is that the socialist revolution, instantly and instinctively, began to realise the ideal of universal education, which the interests and prejudices of class have thwarted in the rest of Europe." The same writer touches on education in an article on "The Russian Communist Party" which appeared in the "Contemporary Review" for January,

1921. He writes concerning the Sverdloff University at Moscow, the college in which the new ruling class is training its civil service: "Here about a thousand young men and women, drawn from the working class, receive a rapid course of instruction in political science from the communist standpoint. They study for six months, taking courses in political economy, the history of civilisation, Russian history, statistics, and the history and doctrines of Marxist socialism. Thereafter they specialise in some department of administration (agriculture, food, education, etc.), and the lectures are followed by practical work in the ministry which especially interests them."

Referring to the Communist Party, he tells us: "The Party now largely recruits itself from the youths who are growing up to manhood and womanhood under the revolution. The 'Young Communist' organisation, conducted entirely by the youths themselves, is, with its 400,000 members, nearly as numerous as the Party. . . . They aim at permeating the schools, and have very definite ideals of education. When I asked for a definition of their aim, one of these youths gave it promptly: 'We aim at creating a new psychology of social duty: we want those who enjoy free higher education to learn to devote themselves to society, to repay what the State has given them in the school, and not to be content with a few hours of regulated perfunctory work.' . . . I asked them how far they were reaching the parents of children hostile to socialism. They answered that in several cases they had enlisted the children of priests and of 'kulaks' [village usurers]

and they mentioned lads by name whose fathers had in vain tried to thrash the communism out of them."

Some of the recorded activities of these Young Communists have a "Boy-Scouty" flavour, reminding the reader of Baden Powell's lads on the prowl for an unwary person to whom they can do their daily "good turn." And yet how different is the whole mental outlook from that of our young apostles of social solidarity under capitalism! To mark the contrast, it will suffice in conclusion to quote once more from Brailsford's article: "Capitalist society makes the mind of the people by its unorganised quasi-monopoly of the printing press. The communists, by their organised monopoly, are steadily and rapidly making the minds of the receptive Russian nation."

CHAPTER NINE

YEAST IN THE BRITISH ISLES

England may seem to you untouched, but the microbe is already there.—NICOLAI LENIN. (In conversation with Arthur Ransome, 1918.)

PROLETCULT CLASSES

THE most widespread manifestation of the Prolet-cultural ferment—the Ferment of Revolution, as the "Times" called it in a series of articles published in the autumn of 1917—is the spontaneous growth of classes in economics, industrial history, economic geography, and other subjects having a direct bearing on the Marxist explanation of capitalist "society." To-day they flourish abundantly in the industrial districts of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Northumberland and Durham, Birmingham and other Midland centres, Nottinghamshire, etc. In South Wales there are classes in more than fifty districts, for the most part under the auspices of the South Wales Miners' Federation. But in the Rhondda and a few other valleys there are full-time lecturers employed by the district organisations of the miners. Classes are met with even in rural areas, and notably in Somerset and Norfolk. The backbone of Prolet-cult in Britain, they are not as yet fully co-

ordinated by Proletcult Councils, or properly linked up with the Labour Colleges. Such co-ordination of effort is the task of the immediate future.

A subordinate manifestation, hardly less significant, is the fact that not a few branches of the Communist Party are now resolving themselves into Study Circles. Meetings for study alternate with the ordinary business meetings of the branch. Recent contributions to communist literature—such a book, for instance, as Lenin's *The State and Revolution,* or such a document as the *Manifesto* issued in 1919 by the newly formed Third International—are read in council, annotated, criticised, and discussed. The aim, of course, is to transform communism from a vague aspiration into a working policy.

THE NEW LABOUR COLLEGES

Since the war, a number of additional Labour Colleges have been founded in the British Isles. One of these, in Dublin, was established in memory of Jim Connolly; but under present conditions in Ireland, when all the revolutionary energy of the country is concentrated upon the nationalist struggle with the British government, it is impossible that much attention should be paid to Proletcult. The Scottish Labour College, projected in 1916 and formed in Glasgow some two years later, is non-residential. It was a natural outgrowth of the educational classes in Marxist socialism which have been carried on in the Clyde region without intermission since the nineties. Prior to the winter session of 1920/21, the activities

of the College were practically confined to evening and Sunday classes. Glasgow, for instance, had 30 such classes, with a total roll of 854 students. The provincial classes numbered 51, with an attendance of approximately 2,000 students. Among the subjects taught at the central classes were economics, industrial history, public speaking, commercial geography, modern European history, constitutional law, and Esperanto. At most of the district classes, study was confined to the first two subjects named.

During the second winter there has been a great extension of activity. Many new classes have been formed, and the total number of students is much larger. Furthermore, day classes are now being held, attended by bursars from the Lanarkshire Miners' County Union, the Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan Miners' Association, and the Toolmakers' and Machinists' Union. There are also students who are meeting their own maintenance expenses and paying their own fees. These central classes are conducted by two full-time tutors. District Committees to carry on similar work have been formed in various parts of Scotland; and a number of the Scottish trade unions and cooperative societies are giving financial support. To meet the demand for working-class education in districts where it has not yet been possible to arrange for classes of the ordinary kind, correspondence courses are being initiated. In a word, a great deal is being done by the Scottish Labour College to further the object for which it was established—the widest possible diffusion of Independent Working-Class Education. We may hope

for the speedy fulfilment of the words used by John Maclean in the preface to James Clunie's *First Principles of Working-Class Education:* "Very soon every village and hamlet in Scotland will have its classes working in conjunction with the Labour College."

There can be no doubt that these local colleges are but the prelude to similar bodies which will shortly be formed in all the industrial districts of Britain. They will work in close cooperation with the London Labour College (it is a pity that this pioneer institution dropped the "Central" from its name!), and coordination can be promoted by joint conferences. Thus the various regions will be enabled to a considerable extent to supply their own need for class teachers. But as long as the Labour College in London is the only residential Labour College in the Isles, it will have a peculiar prestige, and will remain in effect the Central Labour College. Besides the Colleges already named, there are the Manchester Labour College, the Sheffield Labour College, and the North-Eastern District of the Labour College (Newcastle-on-Tyne). But these are not so much teaching centres as bodies for coordinating the work of Proletcult classes. Like the Liverpool Council for Independent Working-Class Education, they are Proletcult Councils.

PROLETCULT COUNCILS

Whether they are residential or non-residential, the Labour Colleges that are really colleges tend to be mainly places for whole-time instruction. Some of them, like the Scottish Labour College,

will undertake to organise evening and Sunday classes throughout wide areas. But there is definite scope for the Councils for Independent Working-Class Education which are springing up throughout the country as parts of the great educational revolutionary ferment now in progress. These are concerned with mapping out Proletcultural activities in the areas with which they deal, with coordinating the work, and with assisting in the formation and running of classes.

In the London area, for instance, there was formed in the spring of 1920 the London Labour Educational Council. To a certain extent this was a revival of the pre-war activities of the London District Council of the National Union of Railwaymen, the first labour organisation to run educational classes in the London area under Labour College auspices and in accordance with the principles of Independent Working-Class Education. This was in the winter of 1913-14, but the work was interrupted by the outbreak of the war. In August, 1920, the London Labour Educational Council adopted the more class-conscious and distinctive name of the London Council for Independent Working-Class Education. This has its headquarters at the Labour College, and works in close collaboration with that institution. By the autumn, the London area had been divided into 23 districts with local committees and branch secretaries; and 38 classes for the study of economics and industrial history had been inaugurated. Additional classes were opened at New Year, 1921, and the number of students now attending these part-time classes in the London area is about fourteen hundred.

The Central Executive Council of the South Wales Miners' Federation recently appointed an Educational Sub-Committee to elaborate a scheme for the unification of the activities of the South Wales classes and to promote the formation of classes where these do not as yet exist.

It is impossible here to give details as to the work of similar councils in other parts of the country, but a list of the various councils will be found in the appendix. In this matter, as in that of the Labour Colleges, a national coordination of activities and a national interchange of experience are desirable, and it may be hoped that a general conference for the purpose will be held ere long. One question worth reconsidering at such a conference would be the question of name. Why not shorten it to Proletcult Council? Thus we should have the London Proletcult Council, the South Wales Proletcult Council, the Manchester Proletcult Council. In the case of this new word there is no prejudice against "Greek" to overcome—and the precedent for its use has been set by Soviet Russia.

THE PLEBS LEAGUE IN 1920-21

During the war, the Plebs League had to exist with banked fires. The editor of the "Plebs Magazine," J. F. Horrabin, and many of the regular contributors, were summoned to less congenial activities in another field; and the secretary of the League, Winifred Horrabin, had to double editorial work with the secretaryship. But both Magazine and League survived the years of struggle, and are now enjoying the quickened

revolutionary impetus which has been—apart from death and derision—the chief outcome of the capitalists' war. In August, 1919, when its title was shortened to "The Plebs," the magazine announced on its front page that it had "every hope of swelling visibly within a short time." It has in fact been repeatedly enlarged both in size and number of pages. The price has also gone up; but so, happily, has the circulation. Not merely is it the chief organ of Proletcult in this country, but it is a periodical which can rank with any revolutionary journal in the world.

The League's other activities have kept pace with the development of the Magazine. In the final paragraph of *Science and the Working Class*, Bogdanoff refers to a Workers' University, and says that out of the collective life of this institution, through the joint elaboration of the best teaching systems, there must arise a Workers' Encyclopaedia. "Feudal society had its encyclopaedia based upon religion; the bourgeoisie, shortly before the French revolution, wrote a secular encyclopaedia. The proletariat, the class which has to refashion life upon a far more splendid scale, cannot do without an encyclopaedia of its own." There can be no Workers' University in prerevolutionary Britain, for the Labour Colleges can concern themselves only with the provision of a fighting culture. Nor, therefore, can there be a Workers' Encyclopaedia in the comprehensive sense in which the term is employed by Bogdanoff. But Proletcultural textbooks conveying the elements of a fighting culture will supply the first requisites for such a Workers' Encyclo-

paedia, and these the Plebs League hopes to provide very shortly. Not in economics and industrial history alone, but in all the subjects of instruction at the Labour Colleges and in the Proletcult classes, lecturers and students require textbooks which are free from the taint of bourgeois ideology. At a Special Conference held in Bradford on April 17 and 18, 1920, the whole subject was considered, and plans were laid for textbooks on biology, the science of understanding, economic geography, industrial history, and economics. The matter was again discussed at a "Textbook" Conference held in Cardiff on September 4, 1920. Further study of the question has led to the splitting up of some of the subjects, notably in the case of the comprehensive topic of the science of understanding. For instance, there is now in preparation a textbook on the vitally important problem of the New Psychology as it affects proletarian outlooks.

This branch of the League's work is not new. Some years ago it published three small handbooks which have been often reissued and widely used in Proletcultural teaching: W. W. Craik, *A Short History of the Modern Working-Class Movement;* Mark Starr, *A Worker Looks at History;* and Noah Ablett, *Easy Outlines of Economics.* The projected textbooks are an extension of activity in the same field. A further development is the proposed reissue of cheap editions of certain works which have been published by capitalist firms at prices prohibitive to proletarian book-buyers. Some of these will be books which, though not authoritative expressions of the League's outlook, are nevertheless in line with the general views

of its members. Others will be scientific works which, though not written by proletarians or those who wholeheartedly accept proletarian ideology, are sufficiently in harmony with that ideology to form part of the proletarian heritage. Plans for some of these reprints were discussed at the 1921 Meet (Bradford, February 12 and 13), and were heartily approved. Such publishing activities, in conjunction with schemes for co-ordinating Proletcult throughout the country, constitute the immediate tasks of the Plebs League.

THE BURSTON STRIKE SCHOOL

A remarkable development of Independent Working-Class Education—small but imposing—is that which began in April, 1914, at Burston, near Diss in Norfolk. Like the affair at Ruskin College five years earlier, this was a "students' strike," though the students here were not tough young men from the mining districts, but tender children of school age, the children of agricultural labourers. Just as the Ruskin College students struck against the dismissal of Dennis Hird, so the Burston children struck against the dismissal of their teachers, husband and wife. The latter was the head of the council school, and T. G. Higdon, her husband, was assistant master. The real cause of the dismissal was that Higdon, a member of the I.L.P., had been actively and successfully promoting the organisation of agricultural labourers throughout the district. He was therefore an "agitator" and a "firebrand," and had incurred the displeasure of the tin gods who formed the governing body of the school—the

parson and the farmers. Just as in Dennis Hird's case, a charge of "unsatisfactory discipline" was trumped up against the Higdons, whose idea of discipline was to teach self-discipline, and did not include the use of the cane.

The strike was described by the local worthies as "all moonshine," but it has now lasted seven years. Prosecutions for non-attendance and the imposition of fines were the immediate consequence of the children's "down-tools" policy; and thus, if the authorities were to be paralysed, it was absolutely necessary that the School Strike should develop into a Strike School. The result has been the formation at Burston of a permanent centre of revolutionary education. This small beginning of Proletcult among the children of a rural population is pregnant with possibilities for the future. The school has the financial support of many trade unions and other working-class associations. The whole strike movement has been a wonderful example of solidarity, steadfastness, and loyalty, on the part of parents and children alike. The original petty tyrant who was the centre of the anti-Higdon movement, a typical "squarson," left the parish about six months ago. But at Burston, incumbents may come and incumbents may go; the Strike School goes on for ever. The common folk of Burston and neighbouring villages, sweated and underpaid though they are, have managed all along to give help in money and produce. Through the willing sacrifice of these working men and women the initial difficulties of housing and furnishing were overcome, and the school has for some years been carried on under its own roof—

an example of sturdily independent working-class education. Burston still remains a purely local affair, but with a little more revolutionary initiative and with more extended support from the organised workers, it might develop into a Modern School resembling that at Stelton, New Jersey.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE

This body came into existence last year. Substantially it may be regarded as the outcome of a movement to secure increased support for educational activities from trade unions as yet unattached either to the Red Plebs League or to the Pale Pink W.E.A. Under the auspices of the W.E.T.U.C., a conference was held in London on October 16, 1920. In addition to the secretary and the assistant secretary (the former, it should be noted, is also the secretary of the W.E.A.) and five members of the Central Committee, there were present nineteen representatives of various trade unions. The chair was taken by Arthur Pugh, secretary to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. His address contained some significant statements. Here is one :

"Classes organised and controlled by universities and local educational authorities do not provide the atmosphere or the freedom that induce large numbers of working-class men and women to become students. Moreover, there unquestionably exists in the minds of working men and women a strong suspicion of the bias of university and local education authority teaching in social and industrial subjects. The suspicion is undoubtedly well founded. This does not imply that either

universities or local education authorities consciously impose opinions on their students. What can, however, happen is that they may tend to teach a line of thought which assumes the existing system to be permanent and just."

The W.E.T.U.C. originated out of a demand from branches of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation that ways and means should be provided for the education of its members. At first the executive had seriously considered "a policy of separate action," i.e., the inauguration of a system of Independent Working-Class Education. But "economical and other practical considerations" made the executive decide to enlist the services of the W.E.A., and as a result the W.E.T.U.C. was inaugurated. The net result, viewed from the Red end of the spectrum, is of course that while the hands are the hands of the trade unions concerned, the voice is the voice of the W.E.A.! Increased trade-union support has been provided for the distillers of the "W.E.A. spirit."

Nevertheless the leaven of Proletcult operates even within the W.E.A., and its new offshoot the W.E.T.U.C. Arthur Pugh's mentality is by no means that of Mansbridge, Tawney, Greenwood, and the other W.E.A. stalwarts. Throughout his address he obviously had his eye on the disgruntled Proletculturists within his own union, who would have preferred "separate action," or frank support of the Labour College. "To ask trade unions to avail themselves of the ordinary educational facilities provided by universities and education authorities is . . . impracticable. It is

unnecessary to enter into the reason why. It is sufficient to say that every responsible trade-union official knows that his members refuse to avail themselves of them. They desire to build up their own educational movement, to work out their own salvation in the world of thought as they are endeavouring to do in the world of action." It is obvious that the stimulating example of the Plebs League and the Labour Colleges, in conjunction with the pressure of economic conditions and the demands of the students, has been responsible for this new outbreak of W.E.A. activity. The true significance of Pugh's address is that to get additional trade-union support the W.E.A. had to drop its name and sail under false colours. In reality, W.E.T.U.C. means W.E.A., just as much as Council for Independent Working-Class Education means Plebs!

Two more quotations, and we have done with the W.E.T.U.C. The secretary (Mactavish) declared: "The great problem is to get people to come to classes. In Wales there are a large number of students who will not touch a class organised by the universities, but if they have control of them themselves, through their trade union, they will come in large numbers." G. D. H. Cole (prominent W.E.A.-er and committeeman of the W.E.T.U.C.) said: "A resolution proposing that Ruskin and the Central Labour College shall come under the protection of the labour movement will come up at the Trade-Union Congress. The larger question of educational facilities should come up also at the Trade-Union Congress. The job of the Labour Colleges is a comparatively restricted one. 'The

job of classes for men carrying on their everyday work is a very much wider and more important thing."

From the viewpoint of the writers of this book the supremely important thing is that working-class education should remain independent, that it should not be Bourgeoisecult but Proletcult. It would seem that the students are going to attend to that matter themselves!

MORE TROUBLE BREWING AT RUSKIN COLLEGE

A significant indication of this is to be found in the fact that mutterings of a new storm may be heard from Ruskin College. A note in the "Plebs" of December, 1920, is worth quoting: "A section of the Ruskin College students has been—and still is—dissatisfied with the educational policy of that institution. At the beginning of this term a Marxian group was formed, and at a recent college debate members of this group championed the declaration: 'the emancipation of the working class can only be secured by a policy of independent working-class education.' A lively debate ensued, the final vote being: for, 20; against, 23. After the debate was formally closed, discussions continued in various parts of the hall, and, according to our report, the college porter had to intervene and separate more than one pair of disputants." This story squares with private information that there is a good deal of restiveness among the students on account of the unduly "impartial" character of the teaching. In fact, some of the unions maintaining students at the College, the Northumbrian miners, for one, have

(we are informed) made representations. Also, lectures on "orthodox" economics have been poorly attended. Result: the appointment of a Marxist lecturer, quite free from university connexions, and a man well-known for a good many years as a prominent member of a class-war organisation. But—it is a big "but"—the lecturer, whose theoretical competence no one will question, is a comparatively safe man from the standpoint of the College authorities. A year ago, he broke away from the left-wing organisations over the question of revolutionary policy; he is now a member of the I.L.P.; he is a candidate for parliamentary honours under Labour Party auspices. Still, that a Marxist even of the Plehanoff and Kautsky complexion should lecture on economics at Ruskin College is a sign of the times, a proof that the Proletcultural leaven is everywhere at work. Maybe ere long the new wine will again burst the old bottle at Ruskin!

CHAPTER TEN

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

At the present time the proletariat is certainly the most intensely class conscious of all the social classes; and this, apart from its preponderating numbers, means that it is much the most powerful and important of all existing partial herds—potentially at least, for it has, of course, by no means reached the zenith of its political power.—A. G. TANSLEY. (The New Psychology and its Relation to Life, p. 213.)

METHODS OF TEACHING

AT the Plebs Meet held in Bradford on February 12 and 13, 1921, a discussion took place on the improvement of method in class teaching. It was extraordinarily interesting to find that, in the actual practice of adult proletarian education, men who had paid little attention to educational theory were working out methods substantially identical with those advocated and applied by the most advanced bourgeois exponents of pedagogic science. The nature of the educational classes for adults dictates this development. You cannot drive class-conscious young proletarians in a direction in which they do not wish to go. The studies must be linked on to their interests, must harmonise with their affects and their emotionally tinged

desires. But this is the principle of libertarian education, as contrasted with the old idea of cramming with knowledge, and of "helping the lazy ones on with the stick." This is the method of the Montessori School, of Ferrer's Modern School, of the New School, applied to proletarian culture for adults. Again, the educational classes run under the auspices of Labour Colleges and Proletcult Councils tend to an increasing extent to depart from the old idea of set courses of lectures conducted by throned or pulpited "experts," during and after whose oracular utterances no dog may bark! They are discussion classes. In many cases they are actually conducted by the pupils, with the friendly and suggestive cooperation of the "teacher." It becomes a case of "do your own teaching" no less than of "do your own thinking." Now "do your own teaching" is preeminently the method of libertarian child education! It is the finest fruit of bourgeois pedagogy spontaneously worked out in proletarian educational practice. One of the most talented exponents of the newer educational theories, Adolphe Ferrière of the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute in Geneva, is fain to admit that his ideal *Revolutionise the School* will only be achieved through the social revolution. He does not say this in so many words: but he knows that capitalist States are more interested in war budgets than in education, and he writes (p. 148): "Sooner or later, in place of the Society of Nations the world must establish the Federation of Peoples. Then there will no longer be a war budget, but only one monster budget—that of education."

THE PROLETARIAN HERITAGE

Ferrière employs bourgeois terminology, but he is probably aware that his educational ideals will not materialise until the proletariat enters into its heritage; and he probably knows that there is only one country in the world where his methods are being applied on a large scale—namely, Soviet Russia. In this matter, Russia consciously borrows from advanced bourgeois educationists. When we contend that the primary need for the working class to-day is to promote a distinctively proletarian culture, it is by no means our intention to put forward the extravagant claim that all advances in thought are now the work of persons who are proletarian by origin or status, or even of persons who accept the proletarian philosophy of life. Creative artists in thought, like creative artists in other fields, are driven by inner urges which are for the most part "above the battle" and are unaffected even by the environment of the class war. It is the *application* of the new thought which is subject to the interests of class. When a new thought is, or seems, obviously antagonistic to the interests of a dominant class, it is fiercely resisted by the members of that class—as the theories of Galileo and Bruno were resisted by the Catholic Church. The ideas of an innovator like Darwin may be seized upon by the upholders of privilege, and distorted till they acquire a complexion which makes them lend specious support to the inequalities of the capitalist system. Similarly with the revolutionary psychological conceptions of Freud and his successors. They can be used to "rationalise" the impulses of each of the two

partial herds into which contemporary society is divided. In this matter it behoves the revolutionary proletariat to be quick to enter into the heritage; to simplify and turn to account the doctrines of bourgeois and semi-bourgeois thinkers. We live in an era which is revolutionising outlooks more fundamentally than they were revolutionised even by Copernican astronomy, Newtonian physics, Darwinian biology, or Marxist economics. The New Psychology provides the philosophical justification of bolshevism, and supplies a theoretical guide for our efforts in the field of proletarian culture.

WHAT IS THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY?

The essence of the New Psychology is comprised in a recognition that the older science tended to exaggerate man's rationality. Far from being a rational being, one whose actions are wholly or mainly guided by reasoned considerations or by an intellectualist calculus of pleasures and pains, man is a creature whose activities are fundamentally determined by the nature of the complexes of which his mind is made up. Disregarding the philosophical problem of the relationship between mind and body, we may say that the mind is to be conceived as a network of mental elements associated into systems to which the name "complex" has been given. Every such complex centres round an affect or emotion, and the stimulation of any one of these linked and emotionally-tinged associated ideas tends to call the other partners into consciousness through the medium of their common affect. As soon as any complex is aroused to consciousness, or sometimes while it exists

merely in the form of a subconscious urge, the psychic energy attached to it discharges along the appropriate channels of endeavour. The three universal complexes, the great subconscious urges by which the enormous majority of our actions are really determined, are the ego complex, the herd complex, and the sex complex. To the "extremists" of the Freudian school, the sex complex appears to be the most vital of all the complexes. Perhaps it is; but it is not the one most vital to the present inquiry. For the immediate purposes of proletarian culture we are far more closely concerned with the two other fundamental complexes.

THE EGO COMPLEX AND THE HERD COMPLEX

Man is a social animal, but the fact has been obscured by the tendencies of capitalistic development during the last few centuries. The promptings of the herd instinct are so powerful that they often overrule the promptings of the egoistic instinct. Education acts largely in virtue of its power to turn these instincts, these complexes, these affects, to account. In medieval systems, the trend of education was to make special use of the herd complex—sometimes on behalf of such a partial herd as the feudal clan, sometimes on behalf of a much wider social integration like the Catholic Church. At this time the national herd was of quite minor importance, for the nationalist sentiment in its modern form is a late product of capitalist development. But always, down to our own day, the herd complex has been operative only within the limits of some partial herd. The universal herd has never been the object of anything

more than vague humanistic aspiration. Nay, it can be nothing more within the framework of the class State.

The herd complex was the basis of primitive communism. The herd complex has been the basis of the impulse towards communism which has asserted itself again and again throughout history. It is false psychology to declare that man is "fundamentally individualistic," "essentially egoistic." Whether by primary instinct or as the outcome of social suggestion matters not, the herd complex, is just as fundamental as the ego complex, and is far more decisive over the actions of the normal human being as soon as the first few months of infancy have been outgrown. Yet for centuries the aim of bourgeois culture, of capitalistic culture (essentially individualist), was to emphasise the ego complex at the expense of the herd complex—at least in the economic field. The herd complex was reserved for window-dressing and Sunday best. The "real man" of the bourgeois creed was the man whose nature was red in tooth and claw, the man whose gospel was every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

But capitalistic developments have gradually intensified the forms of partial herd segregation with which social evolution is now at work. We have the two confronted partial herds of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. As against the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is integrated and fully class conscious. But within the bourgeois partial herd the integration is imperfect. In virtue of linguistic and geographical considerations far more than in virtue of racial or truly national considera-

tions, the bourgeoisie is split up into numerous sub-herds termed nations, which are variously allied as real or fancied bourgeois interests suggest. During the phase of high capitalistic development, the conditions of profit-making production have led to an ever more active cult of nationality, whereby the fictive herd known as the nation is made the basis of a complex sufficiently powerful to induce the average man and woman to accept the appalling sacrifices demanded by such a war as that of 1914-18—a war for the manufacturing and trading interests of competing groups of the master class. Such, in the wording of the New Psychology, is the explanation of recent history as it appears to twentieth century Marxists.

Obviously, then, to a Marxist, the function of proletarian culture is to counteract the bourgeois culture which uses the herd instinct on behalf of the nationalist herd and in support of a capitalist exploiting society organised as a national State. Proletcult, the culture of the great partial herd of the international proletariat, will do everything that can be done to promote proletarian class consciousness, to foster and accentuate the proletarian herd complex. So doing, Proletcult works in line with the advance of civilisation, with the forces which can alone realise a true world-civilisation. Through the world revolution, the proletariat will become the universal herd, which no national herd and no bourgeois herd can ever become. In place of the vague humanitarian aims of liberalism and pre-Marxian socialism, we have a definite method of achieving social solidarity.

But it can be achieved in one way only; through the relentless waging of the class war until the bourgeois herds have been disrupted, and until their power has been finally broken. That is the teaching of Marxist economics reinforced by the New Psychology. That is the function of Proletcult. Even before the revolution, working through the partial herd as it must until capitalism has been overthrown, Proletcult does its utmost to foster communism within the partial herd of the proletariat. It works upon an impulse, an unconscious urge, which (it cannot be too often repeated) is primitive and universal. Trade unionism and the cooperative movement are imperfect expressions of the dormant communistic impulse in the proletarian herd. In so far as they are constructed upon the right lines, they act as persistent suggestions reinforcing the herd complex of the class-conscious proletariat.

THE CONTROL OF THE SUBCONSCIOUS

The New Psychology, having revealed to us the subconscious personality whose being is in many respects more vital to the self than is that of the personality of which we are consciously aware, has now gone further and has taught us how, in large measure, to control its activities. The New Psychology has taught us, that is to say, how to control the subconscious, both purposively and effectively. All that has ever been termed education has been to a far greater extent an education of the subconscious than of the conscious self. To-day, the idea that education is suggestion will be a novelty to many. To-morrow, it will be a

commonplace. Yesterday, it was an outrage. In the second or third year of the war we went to hear a lecture by a practical modern educationist who had been a teacher in one of the best-known New Schools in Britain. An enquiry, after the lecture, whether he did not realise the supreme value of the conscious use of suggestion as an educational force, was received much as if we had commended one of the grosser kinds of sexual impropriety! It was evident that the lecturer was himself the subject of an unfortunate complex; and that the innocent word "suggestion" had aroused various unpleasant emotional associations connected with sensational nonsense about "hypnotism," "mesmerism," and other forms of "undue influence."

The recognition that suggestion is autosuggestion, and that autosuggestion is the means whereby imagination controls the subconscious self, will dissipate these nightmares, and will enable us to make a right use of the most potent force which has become available to the members of the human herd since the invention of articulate speech. The whole subject has been placed upon a secure scientific footing by Charles Baudouin in his *Suggestion and Autosuggestion*. As recently as 1907, M. W. Keatinge (*Suggestion in Education*) criticised the term autosuggestion as misleading. He wrote, "the idea is really suggested from without, and appears to be 'self-suggested' only to the person in whose mind it has been latent." Nevertheless, most readers of Baudouin's book will agree that in education, no less than in psychotherapeutics, what goes on in the subconscious is what really

counts in the whole process, and that upon the successful influencing of the subconscious depends the success of the teacher no less than of the healer. The value of all the latest educational methods, as compared with the cruder methods of earlier days, is that they make a more effective though still for the most part unwitting appeal to the subconscious; that they achieve a skilful though not as yet fully understood utilisation of the pupils' powers of autosuggestion.

It is for the Proletculturist to turn these powers to deliberate account as part of the proletarian heritage. In the proletarian environment, the subconscious is already aware of the conflict we term the class struggle. The suggestions of Marxist education in economics and industrial history are in conformity with latent trends that pre-exist in the pupils' minds. They arouse autosuggestions which speedily awaken and reinforce class consciousness, and direct the associated emotions towards the channels of revolutionary endeavour. Here it is not the will, as the old psychologists used to say, which is the motive force of action. The force is the force of imagination. Suggestion and autosuggestion are ideomotive force; the force whereby, through the intermediation of the subconscious, thought is realised in action. That is the meaning of Marxism as a revolutionary high-explosive; for the Marxist ideology arouses the latent autosuggestions of the proletarian status. Part of the proletarian heritage of to-day must be the clear realisation by revolutionary propagandists of the full significance of the New Psychology and the New Pedagogy.

Education is suggestion. What counts in initiating suggestion is not the will but the imagination. "In the beginning was the deed," says Goethe's Faust. We should phrase it differently to-day, saying, "In the beginning was imagination." The deed follows. The function of the Proletculturist is to fire the imagination, until imagination realises itself in action.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE REVEILLE

The workers are strong. If they endure oppression, it is because they are hypnotised. The one thing needful is to awaken them from this hypnotic sleep. LEO TOLSTOY. (Diary, February 3rd, 1898.)

THE aim of *Proletcult* has been to show that all the educational forces of the capitalist State—the power of the schools and the universities; the power of the cinema, the pulpit, and the press—combine to diffuse a Bourgeoisculturai suggestive influence tending to befool the workers. This has not, until recently, been a deliberate policy; but it tends increasingly to become so. The policy is more deliberate and more ruthless in the United States than as yet in Europe. Upton Sinclair, in *The Brass Check*, refers primarily to the newspaper press and to American conditions; but much of what he has to say applies to this side of the Atlantic, and can be generalised to include all the "means of infection" at the disposal of the master class. He writes: "You will miss the point of this book if you fail to get clear that the provision of news and the betrayal of public opinion is no haphazard and accidental thing. For twenty-five years it has been a thing deliberately planned and

systematically carried out, a science and a technique. High-priced experts devote their lives to it. They sit in council with the masters of industry, and report on the condition of the public mind, and determine precisely how this shall be presented and how that shall be suppressed. They create a public psychology, a force in the grip of which you, their victim, are as helpless as a moth in the glare of an arc-light. And what is the purpose of it all? One thing, and one thing only—that the wage slaves of America shall continue to believe in and support the system whereby their bones are picked bare and thrown upon the scrap-heap of the profit-system."

Now in the fight against this system and in the counteraction of the methods that are used for its support, Independent Working-Class Education or revolutionary Proletcult is in many respects the most vital of all means. Let us quote once again the recent utterance of Henry de Man, director of the Belgian Board of Labour education ("The Survey," September 1, 1920): "When Labour strikes, it says to its master: I shall no longer work at your command. When it votes for a party of its own, it says: I shall no longer vote at your command. When it creates its own classes and colleges, it says: I shall no longer think at your command. Labour's challenge to education is the most fundamental of the three."

Substantially, de Man's statement is to the effect that there are three main lines of advance: the political action of the Communist Party; the direct action of organised labour; and Independent Working-Class Education. We need not dispute

as to which is the most important, since all are indispensable. The essential thing is that there should be collaboration along all three lines. The mass action of organised labour must be guided by revolutionary intelligence, if it is not to remain futile. Revolutionary intelligence must receive the material support of organised labour. The political party forms a centralising and coordinating force for activities in all three fields. But it must be noted that as the revolutionary crisis approaches, the educational method has considerable advantages over the political. Revolutionary political activities will sooner be driven underground by the forces of repression. This hardly applies to the industrial line of advance. Of course, thanks largely to Proletcult, the industrial organisation of the workers is increasingly guided by a subversive aim; but in western "democracies" it becomes more and more difficult for governments to take high-handed measures against industrial organisations. Revolutionary political parties, on the other hand, will ever more frequently be subjected to the pressure of exceptional laws against "sedition," of exceptional measures for the "defence of the realm." Educational activities financed by the industrial unions occupy an intermediate position. It is unlikely that they will be interfered with until capitalism is in its death agony. The efforts of the defenders of the capitalist fortress will be confined to occasional clamours for the prosecution or suppression of Marxist educational classes and the agencies which promote them; and to counter-propaganda like that of the Federation of British Industries, which

is busily engaged upon plans for organising "safe" economic classes for the workers—places where potential revolutionists can be satisfactorily pithed.

Meanwhile we have to insist that in the educational field, no less than in the political and industrial fields, Mr. Facing-Both-Ways is more dangerous than a declared enemy. In the preface to his latest work, *Terrorism and Communism,* Trotsky points out that what he terms "international Kautskyism"—represented in Britain by the Independent Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party—is the chief political factor whereby capitalist society is sustained in its present position of unstable equilibrium. Hence the need for the Third International, to clear the political issues. Similarly in the industrial field, the Yellow Trade-Union International is one of the mainstays of reaction, and it was essential to create the Red Trade-Union International with its cry of "Show your Colours!" No less essential, we contend, is it that there should be a Red Proletcult International, to coordinate the work of revolutionary education, and to make the workers everywhere understand that the social solidarians who prate of the union of labour and learning, who offer Bourgeoiscult in place of Proletcult, are but wolves in sheep's clothing, are but disguised emissaries of the master class. Important as it is to clear the issues in the political and industrial fields, it is in certain respects even more important to clear the issues in the educational field. "We may say," writes Trotsky in the before-mentioned preface, "that the will of the working masses throughout the civilised world, continually stressed

by the course of events, is far more revolutionary than their judgment; for their judgment is still obscured by parliamentarist prejudices and theories of class collaboration. The struggle for the dictatorship of the working class makes it necessary at this moment that we should wage a pitiless war against Kautskyism within the working class." There is a "Kautskyism" in education no less than in trade unionism and in politics. Against Kautskyism in education the Proletculturist must wage a pitiless war.

The industrial workers cannot have their minds clarified by an education which is not itself freed from all taint of bourgeois ideology. The industrial movement in Britain is still in large measure chaotic; for the slough of the old unionism has never been completely cast, and the confusionism resulting from the idea that parliamentarism is the only form of political action tends to paralyse effort. Among the rank and file of the unions, mainly as the outcome of tendentious education, there is a revolt, not merely against craft unionism and the parliamentary aims and methods of the "Kautskyite" labour leaders, but against the whole conception that the primary object of trade unionism is to secure higher wages and shorter hours. They are returning to the trade-union aims of Chartist days, when there was a design to revolutionise society and thereby to open the way to freedom. To encourage this revolutionary mentality is the primary aim of prerevolutionary Proletcult.

Thus in countries that are preparing for the revolution, Proletcult has both to diffuse and to

concentrate the revolutionary impetus, and to organise and clarify the intelligence of the class-conscious minority that will institute the dictatorship of the proletariat when capitalism collapses. The dictatorship of those who, like the bolsheviks in Red Russia, will ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm. Incidentally, of course, Proletcult has an important function in helping to counteract all attempts to restabilise the tottering fabric of capitalism. The modern Marxist, one who belongs to the left wing and repudiates the Kautskyite interpretation, does not propose to stand idly awaiting the disintegration of the capitalist system. He conceives of revolution as something towards whose coming the creative will and intelligence of the revolutionary workers must actively contribute. If it be true, as Kant declared, that as progress becomes more rapid its phases grow shorter, this is mainly because progress—social progress—is increasingly lifted to a plane above the blind play of material forces, and is guided by the mind of man. In the present phase of social development the intelligence that can guide social progress can be found only in the ranks of the proletariat.

In Russia, where the first stages of the revolution have already been achieved, Proletcult is a new system of education, State education, organised by the ergatocratic State, to cultivate the average mentality requisite for the successful working of the stable yet progressive communist commonwealth—just as the aim of State education under capitalism is to produce the kind of human material needed by the capitalist State. A truly

revolutionised education is possible only in the revolutionised State.

Pending the World Revolution, it is for Prolet-culturists of all lands to unite. The Russians can help us, and we can help the Russians. We can help one another by educational organisation on an international scale, just as much as by industrial and political organisation on an international scale. That is why it is essential to establish a Red Proletcult International.

The workers are strong. If they endure oppression, it is because they are hypnotised. The one thing needful is to awaken them from this hypnotic sleep.

SOUND THE REVEILLE!

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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I

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"Young Socialist," a Magazine of Justice and Love, organ of the Socialist Sunday School Union, Editor May Westoby, 13 Wilton Crescent, Wimbledon, London.
Young Socialist Crusaders, Aims, Objects, and Methods of Organisation, National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools, C. M'Nab Shaw, Snowlea, Kirkburn Avenue, Cambuslang, Glasgow, 1920.
"Young Worker, The," with which is incorporated "The Red Flag," monthly organ of The Young Workers' League. First issue, Easter, 1921.
ZIGROSSER, CARL, The Modern School, (pamphlet), Ferrer Colony, Stelton, N. Jersey, U.S.A., 1918.

II

EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS CONCERNING ADULTS

(British unless otherwise specified).

Adult School Union. See National Adult School Union.
Argentina. Socialist Party, Comision de Fomento de las Bibliotecas, Rivadavia 2089, Buenos-Aires.

Argentina. Sociedad Luz, founded 1899, to "instruct the people." Has a library of approx. 10,000 books. Is now building a People's House in two stories; big conference hall, library, museum, etc. Address: El Hogar Obrero, Martin Gracia 473, Buenos-Aires.

Argentina. Workers' Library, founded 1897, approximately 13,000 vols., supported more and more by trade unions, is housed in a building of its own. Address: Biblioteca Obrera, Calle Mejico 2070, Buenos-Aires.

Cooperative, Central Education Committee appointed in 1885; address, Holyoake House, Holyoake Street, Manchester.

Cooperative College, projected before the war, established 1918, pending provision of permanent headquarters is now carried on at Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.

Fircroft College, Bournville, opened in 1909, young men, residential. (Adult School Union).

Ford Cottage, York, founded 1919, winter school, residential for women students. (Adult School Union).

France. Clarté, 12 rue Feydeau, Paris.

Holland. Bond van Revol. Soc. Intellectueelen, 2e Constantijn Huygenstraat 79, Amsterdam. Sub-Committee of Education, P. Schut, Lithwinastraat, Schiedam, Holland. Bond van Communistische Onderwijzers (Teachers). This League runs a periodical which is well informed on educational work in Soviet Russia, Amsterdam.

Manor House, Bewdley, Worcestershire, winter school, residential for women. (Adult School Union).

Mexico. Jose Vasconcelos, Minister for Education and Rector of National University, has introduced new educational system. The curriculum includes Economics and Socialism. Two new chairs have been established recently. Robert Haberman, socialist, and correspondent of the "New York Call," who helped to establish the socialist government of Yucatan, has been entrusted with the professorships of both these chairs.

Morley Memorial College, founded 1889, Waterloo Road, London.

National Adult School Union founded in 1899. Arose out of Sunday School movement, 30 Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

Oxford House University Settlement, founded in 1884, Mape Street, Bethnal Green, London, E.2.

Penscot, Somerset, winter school, residential for women. (Adult School Union).

Plebs League, 11a Penywern Road, Earls Court, London, S.W.5. (The genius of Proletcultural activities in Britain. In conversation with a member of the League who recently visited Russia, both Lenin and Poliansky expressed their admiration for the work of the Plebs League and the Labour Colleges).

Selly Oak, Adult School Settlement, founded 1909. (A resident college).

U.S.A. Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

U.S.A. Cooperative Schools of Greater New York, 402 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, New York City. Other schools at Downtown; Harlem; Brownsville.

U.S.A. Ferrer Colony, Stelton, New Jersey. Modern School transferred here from New York in 1916. A school for the children of working people, wage-workers almost without exception.

U.S.A. Williamsburg Culture Center and Workmen's Circle, c.o. N.Y. "Call," 112 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Workers' Educational Association, founded 1903, 16 Harpur Street, London, W.C.1.

Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee, 16 Harpur Street, London, W.C.1.

III

LABOUR COLLEGES AND PROLETCULT COUNCILS

(British unless otherwise stated).

Central Labour College, founded 1909, now Labour College, which see.

Educational Sub-Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff.

France. Centrale d'Education Ouvrière at Lyons, first centre to be formed for teaching young workers the elements of Working Class History, Socialism, and the history of revolutions. Has an Art section. Secretary, Pierre Laurent, Groupe d'Etudiants Communistes de Lyon.

France. Ecole de Propagandistes, 49 rue de Bretagne, Paris. Lecture courses.

France. Ecole Marxiste, 49 rue de Bretagne, Paris. Lectures Sundays and Thursdays. Secretary: Dr. Grabois, 50 rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.

Germany. Rätebund, Luisenstrasse 28, Berlin, N.W.6, Germany. (A Berlin organisation for proletcultural publishing and classes).

Italy. Istituto di Cultura Proletaria, 12 Corso Galileo Ferraris, Turin. (Labour College, inaugurated, Jan., 1921.)

Labour College (late Central Labour College), sec.: Geo. Sims, 13 Penywern Road, Earls Court, London, S.W.5.

London Council for Independent Working-Class Education, R Holder, 11a Penywern Road, Earls Court, London, S.W.5.

Liverpool Council for Independent Working-Class Education, J. Hamilton, 99 Botanic Road, Liverpool.

Manchester Labour College, J. McGee, Woodlands Lodge, Crescent Road, Crumpsall, Manchester.

Mexican Labour College, Calle de Belisario Dominguez, Mexico City.

North-Eastern District of the Labour College, 5 Byrom Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Ruskin College, founded 1899, at Oxford. Opened to women in 1920. Now has a woman's hostel with seven resident students in addition to the men students at the College.

Russia. Six old universities now increased to 16, free. Polytechnics, free. Libraries, towns and villages. (Consult chapter viii, "Proletcult in Russia").

Scottish Labour College, secs.: P. Lavin, 196 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow, and J. Miller, 30 Newhaven Road, Leith, Edinburgh.

Sheffield Labour College, T. Worrall, 33 Swarcliffe Road, Sheffield.

Switzerland. Université Populaire, Berne. A partial realisation of the "unified labour school." The workers meet in groups of 10 for the study of various subjects, including economics. No professors. The students do their own teaching.

U.S.A. Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

IV

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST YOUTH ORGANISATIONS AND PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

International of Youth (Communist), Smolny, Room 32, Petrograd, Russia.

NATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.

ALSACE-LORRAINE, Verband Soz. Jugend or Entente Régionale des Jeunesse Socialistes, 6 rue des Musiciens, Mülhausen.

AUSTRIA, Communist Union, Pulverturmgasse 7, Vienna, ix. Verband Jugendlicher Arbeiter (Social Democratic), Rechte Wienzeile, 97, Vienna v/1.

BELGIUM, Jeune Garde, rue Steenport 3 à la Fontaine, Brussels.

BRITAIN, Young Workers' League, 28 East Road, City Road, London.

BULGARIA, Com. Union of Youth, Naroden Dom, Sofia.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, Communist Union of Youth, Hybernska Ulica 7, Prague.

DENMARK, Social demokratisk Ungdomsforbund, Romersgade 22s, Copenhagen.

FRANCE, Internationale Communiste des Jeunes, 123 rue Montmartre, Paris.

GERMANY, Freie Soz. Jugend, Stralauerstrasse 12, Berlin, C.2. Kommunistische Arbeiterjugend, Gürtelstrasse 25, Berlin, O, 112. Volksreise Verband (Sports and travel), Engelufer 15, Berlin.

HOLLAND, De Zaaier (Communist), Scheaperstraat 28, The Hague.

HUNGARY, Communist Youth (illegal), numbered 120,000 before overthrow of the Soviet government. No address at present.
ITALY, Fed. Giovanile Socialista (Communist), Via del Seminario 87, Rome.
LUXEMBURG, Jeunesse Socialiste, Kongregationsstrasse 3, Luxemburg.
NORWAY, Socialdemokatiske Ungdomsforbund, St. Olafsgate 14iii, Christiania.
POLAND, Communist Youth, mainly illegal, has clubs in Warsaw, Lodz, and elsewhere. No address at present.
PORTUGAL, Syndicalist Youth. No address.
RUMANIA, Socialist Union of Youth, Strada St. Jonicâ, 12, Bucharest.
RUSSIA, Communist Union of Youth, Machawaja 7, Moscow.
SERBIA, Communist Union of Youth. No address.
SPAIN, Communist Youth, Mendizabal 78iii, Madrid.
SLOVENE (Hungary) Socialist Young Workers, Bratislava Ulica 12, Kaschau, Hungary.
SWEDEN, Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsforbund (Communist), Torsgaten 10, Stockholm.
SWITZERLAND, Union of Youth, Körnerstrasse 12, Zurich; and Case Postale, Eaux-Vives, Geneva.
U.S.A., Young People's Socialist League, Helen Harvey, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

BRITAIN. Headquarters. Clarice M'Nab-Shaw, Snowlea, Kirkburn Avenue, Cambuslang, Glasgow.
Modern School, London, reopened March 6th, 1921, Capmakers' Hall, Commercial Road, E.
Proletarian School Movement, 17 Oswald Street, Glasgow; gen. sec., T. Islwyn Nicholas, Shamrock House, Alexandra Road, Aberystwyth.
SWITZERLAND. Headquarters. Alfred Hümbelin, Birmensdorferstr 55, Zurich 4.
U.S.A. Headquarters. E. C. Breitlfut, 569 West 171 Street, New York City.

UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST FEDERATIONS & SOCIETIES.

AUSTRIA, Freier Verein Soz. Studenten, Paul Stein, Prater 22, Vienna.
BELGIUM, Féd. Nat. Etudiants Socialistes, Gorges Bohy, 108, Av. Ducpétaux, Brussels.
BRITAIN, University Socialist Federation, 34 Eccleston Sq., London, S.W.1.
FRANCE, Féd. Nat. Etudiants Socialistes, Alphonse Goldenberg, 60, rue du Château d'Eau, Paris; and René Bremier, 9, Avenue Marigny, Fontenay-sous-Bois.
GERMANY, Soz. Studentenbund, Fritz Kausch, Anlage 66, Heidelberg. Block Revolutionär Studenten (Communists), Karl. A. Wittfogel, Landhausstrasse, Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

HOLLAND, Vereeniging Nederlandsche Soc. Studenten, Leentje Verhoeven, Apothekerdijk 25A, Leyden. Bond Rev. Soc. Studenten, Leyden and Amsterdam.

IRELAND, Queen's University of Belfast Revolutionary Society, Brice Clarke, Coole Glebe, Carnmoney, Belfast.

ITALY, Gruppo Studenti Socialisti, Via Teatrovelle 27, Rome.

SPAIN, Gruppo Estudiantes Socialistas, Casa del Pueblo, Calle del Piamonte, Madrid; and Casa del Pueblo, Salvador 6, Valladolid.

SWITZERLAND, Féd. Suisse des Etudiants Socialistes, Charles Reber, 61, Boulevard Carl Vogt, Geneva.

U.S.A., Intercollegiate Socialist Society, H. W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

YOUNG INTERNATIONAL PRESS.

ALSACE-LORRAINE, "Junge Revolutionär," Hoffnungsstrasse 77, Mülhausen.

ARGENTINA. "La Vanguardia," Rivadavia 2089, Buenos-Aires. (Daily organ of the Socialist Party. Has frequent educational supplements).

AUSTRIA. "Kommunistische Jugend," Pulverturmgasse 7, Vienna, v.

BELGIUM. "Ouvrier Communiste," à la Fontaine 3 rue Steenport, Brussels.

BRITAIN. "Young Worker," 28 East Road, City Road, London, N.1. "Red Dawn," 17 Oswald Street, Glasgow. "Young Socialist," 13 Wilton Crescent, Wimbledon, London, S.W. "Bulletin," University Socialist Federation, 34 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

BULGARIA. "Mladeschka Prawda," Naroden Dom, Lewow Most Pl., Sofia. "Drugartsche" (children), same address.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA. "Junge Welt," Theresiengasse 13, Teplitz-Schönau. "Az Ifju Garda," Bratislava Duna 12, Kaschau, Hungary. "Mlady Proletar," Hybernska Ul. 7, Prague. "Mlady Delnik," Bratislava Duna 48, Kaschau, Hungary.

DENMARK. "Fremad," Pomersgade 22, Copenhagen. "Laerlingen" (schoolchildren) N. Birkegade 7, Copenhagen. "Arbejdernes Börneblad" (children) Drogensgade 16, Copenhagen.

FINLAND. "Nuori Tyäläinen," Sirkuskasu 5, Helsingfors (in Finnish). "Till Storm," same address (in Swedish).

FRANCE. "L'Avantgarde Ouvrier et Communiste," 123 rue Montmartre, Paris.

GERMANY. "Junge Garde," Stralauerstr 12, Berlin, C.2. "Junge Genosse" (international-children), Schievelbeinerstr 6, Berlin, N.113.

HOLLAND. "Jonge Kommunist," Rembrandtstraat 378, The Hague. "Jeugdige Werker," Commelinstraat 81, Amsterdam.

ITALY. "Avanguardia," via del Seminario 87, Rome. "Germoglio," same address. "Gioventù Rossa," via Emanuele Filiberto 125, Rome.

JUGO-SLAVIA. "Czvena Zastava," Sarajews-Kaja 45, Belgrade. "Budutschnostj," Narodni Dom, Belgrade.
LATVIA. "Juni Spartak," no address, clandestine publication.
LITHUANIA. "Janassis Kommunista," published clandestinely in Lithuanian, Russian, and Yiddish. No address.
LUXEMBURG. "Neue Jugend," Bommwegerstrasse 10, Luxemburg.
NORWAY. "Klassenkampen," St. Olafsgate 14iii, Christiania.
POLAND. "Glos Mlodziezy Socialistyeznej" and "Freie Arbeiter Jugend" (Yiddish); former address, Karmelicka 15, Warsaw. At present appearing from time to time, clandestine publication.
RUMANIA. "Tinesetul Socialist," St. Jonicâ 12, Bucharest.
RUSSIA. "Yuny Kommunist," Machawja 7, Moscow. "Yuny Proletary," Krasnaja 21, Petrograd. In addition 70 provincial papers, and 90 Young People's supplements in dailies.
SPAIN. "El Communista," Mendizabal 78iii, Madrid.
SWEDEN. "Stormglocken," Torgaten 10, Stockholm. "Barntidningen" (children), same address.
SWITZERLAND. "Neue Jugend," Burgvogtei, Basle. "Junge Saat," Körnerstr 12, Zurich. "Nouvelle Internationale," Case Postale, Eaux-Vives, Geneva. "Junge Schweiz" and "Jeune Suisse" (students), Marktplatz 6, Basle.
U.S.A. "Young International," Loeb 2458 N, Seminary Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
INTERNATIONAL. "Young International," monthly, published simultaneously in Russian, German, Swedish, and Italian. Headquarters: Internationaler Jugendverlag, Feurigstrasse, 63, Berlin-Schöneberg, Germany. "Correspondence of the Young International" (every 10 days), published simultaneously in English, French, and German by the E.C. of the Young Communist International. Same address.
Workmen's Circle, Children's Educational Department, 175 East Broadway, New York City, U.S.A.

V

MISCELLANEOUS

(Including child education. British when not otherwise stated).

Argentina. Library and Recreations for Children founded recently by socialists. Object is to gather workers' children together, to amuse them with books, pictures, games, singing, and handicrafts, excursions, walks, etc., in order to keep them off the street. The Society has five libraries and recreation places in Buenos-Ayres. Has hitherto been self-supporting but now the municipal council has decided to allocate 500 piastres a month for the daily provision of milk and bread for the children. Address: Fenia Ch. de Repetto, Bibliotecas 7 Recreos Infantiles, Rivadavia 4433, Buenos-Aires.

Burston Strike School, T. G. Higden, Strike School, Burston, Diss, Norfolk.

France. For information re Proletcult, apply to Léon Clément, 3 Place de Rennes, Paris, 6e. See also "Plebs" for May, 1921.

Industrial Syndicalist Education League (now extinct). The object of the League was to educate the workers in the principles of syndicalism.

Mechanics' Institute, 1799; Birkbeck started lecturing to artisans at Glasgow and organised the first Mechanics' Institute in that city in 1800. The same philanthropist organised the first Mechanics' Institute in London (1824). Originally these Institutes were for technical education, but subsequently they also gave general education. Eventually they developed in two different directions, some becoming Working Men's Clubs and others becoming Working Men's Colleges.

Modern School founded in New York City in 1911, transferred to Stelton in 1916. See Ferrer Colony, p. 150.

Montessori School for Workers' Children. J. Prins-Werker, van Hovenstraat 66, The Hague, Holland.

Neighborhood Playhouse and Workshop, Alice and Irene Lewisohn, 466, Grand Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Progressive Education Association, Stanwood Cobb, 1607 Irving Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Proletarische Schulgemeinde, Baumgartner-Kinderheim, Vienna, Austria.

Russia. Unity School for all children from 6 to 17 years of age, Gratis. Clothing and food also free. (See "School Life," July 16, 1919, U.S. Bureau of Education. Also cf. "The Modern School," issue for Oct., Nov., Dec., 1919).

Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, founded 1884 in memory of Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883). Toynbee, economist and social reformer, advocate of "down among the masses" movement, worked in Whitechapel with Canon Barnett from 1875 onwards. (See "University Settlement").

Tutorial Classes first started at Toynbee Hall, 1899.

Universités Populaires, arose out of the Dreyfus Affair, and were run by bourgeois intellectuals with a taste for going down among the masses, upon which were to be conferred the benefits of bourgeois education. Practically extinct before the war.

University Extension, term first used in 1850.

University Settlement, 1872, Whitechapel. Founded by Canon Barnett. After death of Arnold Toynbee, became Toynbee Hall, which see.

U.S.A. LIBERTARIAN SCHOOLS: Brookwood School (colony and school); sec., William Fincke, P.O. Katonah, Westchester County, New York. Fairhope School, Principal Marietta Johnson, Fairhope, Alabama. German Free Schools, 243 East 84th Street, New York City. Jewish Radical Schools, Sholom Aleichem, New York City. Walt Whitman School, 517 South Boyle Av., Los Angeles, California.

Women Citizens Association founded during the war to educate women "for citizenship."

Women's Cooperative Guild founded 1883.
Women's Institutes formed during the war to "provide a centre for educational and social intercourse."
Working Men's Club and Institute, Ltd., 127 Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.1.
Working Men's College (London) 1854. Maurice and Christian Socialists were convinced that "the social problem was at root a problem of education."
Working Women's College, Y.W.C.A., founded 1920 at Beckenham.

[Much matter of great value has reached us too late for incorporation either in text or appendix. We hope to make use of it if a second edition is called for.—E. & C. P.]

LIST OF NEW & FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS AUTUMN 1920



LEONARD PARSONS, LTD.
PORTUGAL STREET KINGSWAY, LONDON



INDEX TO BOOKS.

INDEX TO AUTHORS

Quarter Cloth, Crown 8vo, 4/6 net

AFTER THE PEACE, by *H. N. Brailsford.*

The author attempts to survey the condition of Europe as the war, the blockade, and the Peace Treaties have left it. He discusses the various ways in which a sick continent may attempt to find an escape from the doom that threatens it—by social revolution, by militarist reaction, by the voluntary revision of the Treaties. He emphasises the clash of interest between country and town, which is the chief barrier against revolution, and studies the new conditions, especially the coal shortage, which make it unlikely that Europe can ever again feed its former population in conditions compatible with a civilized standard of life. The sabotage by the Allies of the League of Nations is discussed, and a policy considered by which a Labour Government, if it can control foreign policy, might repair the ruin accomplished at Versailles.

A POLICY FOR THE LABOUR PARTY, by *J. Ramsay MacDonald.*

This book explains to the general reader the origin, composition and objects of the Labour Party, which is shown to be not merely the organization of a class to secure political power, but an inevitable result of the political evolution of the country. Further, its programme is proved to be not a class programme but a national one in the fullest sense of the term, and its claim to represent workers by brain as well as those by hand, is justified. Its aspect as an intellectual movement is also dealt with.

The book is an authoritative pronouncement on the policy of the Labour Party in the future, written by one who was responsible for the party in its early years, who won for it its first successes, and who has been a member of its Executive from the beginning.

Quarter Cloth, Crown 8vo, 4/6 net

LAND NATIONALISATION, by *A. Emil Davies*, *L.C.G.*, and *Dorothy Evans* (formerly Organizer, Land Nationalisation Society).

In the past the importance of the land problem has been neglected, but now the changed conditions brought about by the war call for increased production at home. This book shows that the present system of land ownership impedes production on every hand and stands in the way of almost every vital reform.

The authors contend that no solution of the serious problems that confront the community can be found until the nation itself becomes the ground landlord of the country in which it lives. They put forward a scheme for nationalisation complete in financial and administrative details, providing for the participation of various sections of the community in the management of the land.

THE NEW LABOUR OUTLOOK, by *Robert Williams* (Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation).

The theme of this book is the new orientation of the aims of international Labour. The author deals with the acute world-need for increased output, and maintains that the workers will consent to produce more only if and when they have assured themselves that by so doing they will immediately improve their economic status and ultimately establish a new social order.

A separate chapter dealing with the collapse of the Second and the development of the Third or Moscow International indicates the connection between the present political crises in many countries and the economic class-struggle which is now proceeding.

The author has a wide and varied experience of proletarian conditions, and has drawn largely upon facts within his own personal knowledge for the material of the book.

LEONARD PARSONS LIMITED

THE NEW LIBERALISM, by *The Right Hon. C. F. G. Masterman.* Cloth, crown 8vo, 6/- net.

"In The New Liberalism," Mr. Masterman examines the application of Liberal principles to the problems which have arisen in the world after the war, especially in connection with reforms demanded by the changes in social conditions at home. He shows how the two guiding principles of Liberalism in practical affairs, the warfare for liberty and the warfare against poverty, are finding their expression in an actual programme, necessarily in some respects different from, but developed out of the Liberal programme that was being preached in pre-war days. He deals also with some of the practical questions of political parties, including the relations between the Liberal and Labour parties, and the possible changes that can be foreseen in the immediate future, in a world still disturbed by the great catastrophe.

GUILD SOCIALISM (RE-STATED), by *G. D. H. Cole, M.A.* Cloth, crown 8vo, 6/- net

Guild Socialism has been the subject of a number of books during the last few years, and already the earlier of these books are to some extent out of date. The Guild idea has been expanding and developing rapidly during the last few years under the impetus of the Russian Revolution and of the new industrial and social situation everywhere created by the war. In this book Mr. Cole attempts to re-state the fundamental principles and the practical principles of the Guild Socialists in the light of these developments. He deals with the social and economic theories on which Guild Socialism is based, with the structure and working of a Guild Society and with the next steps towards Guild Socialism, both in industry and in society as a whole. The book does not claim to be definitive; but it will certainly provoke discussion.

THE MARCH OF SOCIALISM, by *Edgard Milhaud*. Translated by *H. J. Stenning*. Crown 8vo, cloth, 8/6 net.

This is a translation, by Mr. H. J. Stenning, of an important book upon Public Enterprise and Collectivism. The author is well known in Europe as a clear-headed advocate of Socialism, and he has collated a mass of relevant evidence bearing upon the social problems which are uppermost in the public mind to-day. The evils of the Capitalistic system are exhibited with great ability, and a close investigation is pursued into the results of the public control of essential services during the War, which throws a powerful light upon the present crisis of dear living. In the concluding chapters, the author discusses the problem of the control of industry, and describes the methods adopted in various countries. A most readable and convincing volume, full of interest to the general reader, and of special value to the social student.

MY YEARS OF EXILE, by *Eduard Bernstein*, the well-known German Socialist. Translated by *Bernard Miall*. Cloth, demy 8vo, 15/- net

This is a translation by Mr. Bernard Miall of Eduard Bernstein's "*Aus den Jahren Meines Exils.*" In this volume the veteran socialist gives a spirited account of his travels and his years of exile in Italy, Switzerland, Denmark and England. As a prominent socialist and Editor of *Die Zukunft* he was outlawed by Bismarck's Government. For a great part of his lifetime he made his home in London, where to many Londoners still in their prime he was a familiar friend.

During his long residence in London he was intimately acquainted with all the leading personalities of the time, and the reader will meet in these pages with many famous and familiar

figures: Marx and his ill-fated daughter, Bebel, the elder Liebknecht, Engels, Stepniak, William Morris, H. M. Hyndman, "G.B.S.," John Burns, Mr. and Mrs. Hubert Bland, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb; J. R. MacDonald, etc.

Particularly interesting is his account of Engels' famous Sunday evenings. In addition to presenting an interesting picture of Socialist circles in London, this volume throws many sidelights on the development of the movement in Germany and on the Continent in general.

No one interested in Socialism or the Fabian Society should miss this unique book.

THE GREAT RE-BUILDING, by *H. Denston Funnell, F.S.I.* Cloth, demy 8vo, 15/- net.

This book considers with remarkable freshness, the present-day national and international problems; and, unlike many other so-called books on reconstruction, which deal merely in vague generalities, it presents a logical and well thought out scheme of reorganization which should go a long way towards solving the problem of industrial unrest and stabilising our institutions on new and original lines. Trade Unionists, members of local authorities, politicians and public men of all kinds, who desire to keep abreast of the age, will find much food for thought and many suggestive ideas in this book.

SEX EDUCATION AND NATIONAL HEALTH, by *C. Gasquoine Hartley* (author of "The Truth about Woman," etc.) Cloth, crown 8vo, 6/- net.

The question of the instruction of youth in the problems of sex has gained a new urgency. The conditions left by the War have increased these problems to an alarming extent, and, indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that so great and pressing are the evils

threatening our National Health that we can no longer afford to neglect this question of sexual enlightenment.

For the first time the Medical Officer of the Board of Education in his report has called attention to the need for some form of sexual instruction. The question is one of grave difficulty, for it is now recognised that the influence of sex starts from the earliest years of life. How is this force to be directed and trained?

The author is specially fitted to give the help that is required. Her sympathy with the difficulties which face both the child and the parent, the pupils and the teachers, enable her to reveal in a remarkable way the effect of adult instruction. She deals very frankly, but always reverently, with the facts of sex. She is outspoken and fearless, but her work is totally free from offence.

The book is not merely a manual of sex instruction : wider ground is covered, and there is an honest facing of the many problems in the difficult question of sexual instruction. It is this fact that marks the importance of this book. In a word, it tells the truth.

A WEST COUNTRY PILGRIMAGE, by *Eden Phillpotts*, with 16 three-colour illustrations by *A. T. Benthall*, tipped on mounts, buckram, crown 4to, 21/- net.

Times.—"An attractive book."

Pall Mall Gazette.—"A beautiful guide book. We warmly commend the book to the attention of our readers."

Saturday Westminster Gazette.—"A delightful book."

Evening Standard.—"A beautiful book. It is at once a delight and a torment to the town bound . . . a book to lighten the grey months that must pass before we can set out again, a happy pilgrim to the West."

John o' London's Weekly.—". . . a book to be enthusiastically recommended. A series of beautifully coloured drawings add to the delight of the text."

CHILDREN'S TALES (from the Russian Ballet), by *Edith Sitwell.* With 8 four-colour reproductions of scenes from the Ballet, by *I. de B. Lockyer.* Buckram, crown 4to, 15/- net.

This is Miss Sitwell's first published essay in prose, and has many of the characteristics that distinguished her poetry. It deals with the ballet "Children's Tales," and has a long foreword about the Russian ballet in general. The artist, Miss I. de B. Lockyer, who has collaborated with Miss Sitwell in the compilation of this charming book, has worked into her pictures the spirit and colour which appeal so much to the many patrons of the Russian ballet. These should make a point of securing a copy of the work, of which a limited edition only is being printed.

WHEELS, 1920 (Fifth Cycle), edited by *Edith Sitwell.* Quarter cloth, crown 8vo (with cover design by *Gino Severini*), 6/- net.

This is the fifth volume of this annual anthology of ultra-modern poetry, which has been described by *The Saturday Review* as "The vanguard of British poetry." "Wheels—1920," is of the same fearless character as its predecessors, and contains the work of such well-known writers as Aldous Huxley, Wyndham Lewis, Sherard Vines, Geoffrey Cookson, Alan Porter, William Kean Seymour, and Edith, Osbert, and Sacheverell Sitwell. The cover design is by Gino Severini.

A LADY DOCTOR IN BAKHTIARI-LAND, by *Dr. Janet MacBean Ross.* Cloth, crown 8vo, 7/6 net.

THE CORPORATION PROFITS TAX, by *Raymond W. Needham.* Cloth, crown 8vo, 6/- net.